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Performance of development NGOs in HIV prevention for young people

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**Thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**



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**This thesis is dedicated to my loving husband Dr Samuel Wanjau Kareithi,
daughters Lynn Nyathogora Kareithi and Wambugo Kareithi, Associate
Professor Crick Lund and to the late Professor Alan J. Flisher for their never
ending belief that I can make it**

University of Cape Town

Statement of original authorship

This thesis is presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), University of Cape Town. Academic supervisors were the late Prof Alan J. Flisher and A/Prof Crick Lund. The work on which the thesis is based is original research and has not, in whole or in part, been submitted for another degree at this or any other university. The contents of this doctoral thesis are entirely the work of the candidate, who conceptualised and carried out the research project. The six co-authored journal articles included in this thesis are directly based on the research project, and constitute work for which the candidate was the lead author and the academic supervisor was the second author. The inclusion of papers is outlined in the preface of this thesis, and the role of each author described in the introduction to each paper.

Roselyn N. M. Kareithi

22nd July 2011

Preface

This doctoral thesis includes published/to be published journal articles, as per general provision 6.7 in the General Rules for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) of the University of Cape Town. The submission of the thesis in this format was approved by the University Doctoral Degree Board on 29th March 2011. The thesis itself is not simply a compilation of relevant publications. All papers are directly on the thesis topic, forming a single-themed, cohesive body of work.

All papers have only two authors. The candidate is the lead and corresponding author. She provided the lead intellectual drive in every case through formulation of the research project, design, data collection, analysis, and writing of the journal articles. The second author is her academic supervisor; initially the late Prof Alan J. Flisher, and then A/Prof Crick Lund. The contribution of the supervisor was to ensure that the methodology was sound, findings stated clearly, and papers written in the format required by journals. The supervisors also critically reviewed and approved the manuscripts before submission to journals. The candidate assessed their comments and integrated them, where necessary.

The following six papers are included as part of this thesis:

1. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Flisher, A. J. (forthcoming-under review). Performance of development NGOs: A systematic literature review. *Journal of International Development*.
2. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (forthcoming-under review-a). Characteristics of development NGO performance research 1996-2008: A systematic review. *South African Journal of Science*.
3. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Flisher, A. J. (2009). Location of development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, **24** (2): 9-36.
4. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (forthcoming-under review-b). Development NGO management practices: A multiple case study in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*.
5. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (forthcoming-under review-c). Understanding influences of the social and economic environment on HIV prevention: Drawings and voices of young people in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance (SAHARA J)*.

6. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (submitted to the *African Journal of AIDS Research*) Influencing the external environment for HIV prevention among young people: Fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water.

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All papers were submitted to different journals in the style required by the respective journals. In this thesis, a consistent referencing style has been used throughout and all references are provided at the end of the thesis.

University of Cape Town

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Executive summary

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have emerged as crucial players in providing HIV prevention services to young people in South Africa. However, despite the numerous primary HIV prevention interventions, the HIV incidence among young people has not reduced as expected. A large body of research has investigated this from the perspective of individual behaviour, but no academic research was found that examined the situation from the viewpoint of organisational functioning, particularly from a development management perspective.

The concept of development management, as with public management, states that organisations should not only get the work done by the best means available, hence meet set internal organisational goals, but should go beyond that into intervening in social change processes and influencing the external environment. This is in order to achieve external social goals.

This thesis represents an attempt to increase research in NGO management, particularly on their performance in development management. The fieldwork centres on HIV prevention among young people in Cape Town, South Africa. The overarching aim was to develop a framework to guide development NGOs to improve their development management performance. The objectives were to conduct a systematic literature review on the performance of development NGOs; to develop a typology of NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town; to identify existing development management practices; to identify factors that encourage and those that hinder the emergence of development management practices; to develop a framework for good practice in development management; and, to make recommendations that can inform policy on the provision of primary HIV prevention services to young people.

The results of this thesis are presented in six journal articles, which address the above aim and objectives. The first two papers present findings of the systematic literature review of academic journal articles published worldwide between 1996 and 2008. The systematic search identified 31 relevant articles on factors influencing NGO performance. The first paper presents detailed findings on facilitating and constraining factors, which shows that NGOs are influenced by an intricate web of factors. Analysis of these factors shows that NGOs utilise three main strategies to make decisions; first, to build and sustain organisational competence and reputation;

second, to achieve developmental goals for their targeted beneficiaries; and third, to comply with contractual agreements with their donors. Depending on the perspective one takes, NGO action can be regarded as either rational or irrational..

The second paper examines characteristics of the research on NGO performance in terms of the number of publications; publication outlets; author affiliation; and study location, period, topics, and methods. It shows a steady increase in the number of articles, although the total numbers are few. Studies mainly collect data from NGO directors, programme staff and donors. Few collect data from beneficiaries indicating that the rhetoric of beneficiary participation seems not to have infiltrated into NGO performance research. Findings further convincingly reveal the low number of published researchers in this field in developing countries, more so in Africa, and the nature of collaborative efforts between the 'North' and 'South' academics, and hence the need to advocate for policy makers to intensively identify, support and nurture African based social scientists.

The third paper is based on a mapping study conducted between October 2006 and August 2007. It found 93 NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Metropolitan area of Cape Town. Location analysis of offices and sites of service provision in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates shows that the sheer numbers of NGOs do not translate into significant targeting of either offices or service sites within higher HIV prevalence areas.

The remaining three papers are based on a multiple-case study of four purposively selected NGOs. Key data collection methods for the fieldwork were open-ended interviews, focus group discussions, and drawings. Data were collected from multiple informants. Internal sources of data included the NGO directors and programme staff. Information obtained was triangulated by collecting data from sources external to the organisations; namely young people, partner organisations and donors. The multiple-case study was conducted between October 2007 and August 2008, with the systematic collection of data from multiple informants from one NGO, before moving to the next. Initial findings were disseminated and discussed at a seminar held on 22nd September 2008, to which all the sources of data were invited. The seminar was attended not only by the multiple-case study NGOs, but also young people, government officials, donors, development consultants, practitioners and academics.

Based on the results of the review of literature, an amendment was made to the Project Cycle Management to formulate the Development NGO Management Cycle. In a single integrated framework, it combines key performance management principles that emerged from the literature. Different practices in the framework include needs identification, strategic location, beneficiary participation, strategic planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, influencing the environment, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. This framework is presented in the fourth paper, where it is utilised as the conceptual lens to examine the management practices of the four sampled NGOs. Findings show that the NGOs generally concentrated on strategic location and implementation compared to other management practices. Most challenging were needs assessment, influencing the external environment, reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation.

The fifth paper examines the perceptions of young people, living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities, regarding their social and economic environment in the context of HIV prevention. Evidence shows that several adverse influences inhibit young people's compliance to HIV prevention messages. Key factors included negative social norms; inadequate recreational facilities; crime; chronic poverty; inadequate parent/guardian-child relationship; and, inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders. Policy recommendations on the provision of primary HIV preventions interventions to young people are discussed.

The sixth paper explores how NGOs endeavour to influence the external environment, and the challenges they face in attempting to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. Findings show that NGOs practise a combination of strategies encompassing inter-organisational relationships, influencing policy, and championing by example. Key constraints to influencing practices include fear of losing legitimacy; inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity; perceived deviation from work; inadequate funding; burden of value-based messages; and, leaving it to young people.

The components of the entire research design represent a unique example of combining multiple methods and multiple sources of data. For instance, the research has formulated and presented the Development NGO Management Cycle, which moves the Project Cycle Management forward by incorporating essential practices of

development and performance management. Further, the inclusion of the voices of young people and the resulting wealth of data generated indicates that young people are acutely aware of their environment, and that they can be effective participants in development management research. Findings vividly show that the environment in low resource communities is not conducive for HIV prevention among young people. Furthermore, NGOs seemed to generally direct their efforts towards influencing young people, with less effort directed at influencing other players, to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. It is clear that with the obstacles NGOs face in influencing their external environment, they struggle to extend their work beyond programme delivery into the inclusion of the voices of young people and the community. Thus only a narrow, albeit critical, part of the social change processes are considered and the role of NGOs as change agents tends to be muted. Additionally, the role of NGOs in driving the HIV prevention agenda has been marginalised, particularly with the explicit agenda of government, a primary donor, to utilize its power in the aid chain to minimise the ability of NGOs to advocate for change. This brings forth new knowledge that service delivery without influencing the external environment to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention simply will perpetuate “fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water”, in the words of one participant. To address this, and to contribute to existing knowledge, this research has formulated and presented the Framework for Institutionalising Development Management. Overall, this research, and the publication of various articles, has contributed to increasing research on NGO management in South Africa and Africa as a whole, and has furthered the frontiers of learning in development studies.

Key words:

Development Management; development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); HIV prevention; influencing external environment; NGO management; multiple-case study; NGO performance; performance management; South Africa; young people.

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Abbreviations

AHRU	Adolescent Health Research Unit
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ART	Anti-retroviral Therapy
ARV(s)	Anti-retroviral(s)
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development
CAT(s)	Community Action Team(s)
CBO(s)	Community Based Organisation(s)
CSOs	Civil Society Organisation(s)
DFID	Department for International Development
DM	Development Management
DNMC	Development NGO Management Cycle
FBO(s)	Faith Based Organisation(s)
FGD(s)	Focus Group Discussion(s)
FIDM	Framework for Institutionalising Development Management
GRO(s)	Grassroots Organisations
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
INGO(s)	International Non-Governmental Organisation(s)
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MER	Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting
MRC	Medical Research Council
MS	Microsoft
NACOSA	Networking HIV/AIDS Community of South Africa
NGDO(s)	Non-Governmental Development Organisation(s)
NGO(s)	Non-Governmental Organisation(s)
NNGO(s)	National Non-Governmental Organisation(s)
NPO(s)	Not-for Profit Organisation(s) or Non Profit Organisation(s)
PCM	Project Cycle Management
PVO(s)	Private Voluntary Organisation(s)
RBM	Results-Based Management
RHRU	Reproductive Health Research Unit
STI(s)	Sexually Transmitted Infection(s)
UCT	University of Cape Town

UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organisation
YP-GN	Young people in Gugulethu/Nyanga
YP-Kh	Young people in Khayelitsha
YP-MP	Young people in Mitchell's Plain

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PART A

Chapter 1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research. It starts with a brief background to the research. It then moves on to the research problem, justification of the research, central research question with its aims and objectives, methodology and delimitations. The chapter ends with a brief outline of the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Background to the research

The sixth Millennium Development Goal (MDG) calls for the halt of the HIV and AIDS pandemic particularly through increased effective prevention strategies. South Africa has emerged as “the epicentre of the global epidemic” or “ground zero for the pandemic” (Rohleder, *et al.*, 2010, p.1) with the highest number of HIV infections in the world. Approximately 5.7 million people were HIV positive in 2009 (UNAIDS, 2008; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Republic of South Africa, 2010) out of a population of approximately 49.32 million (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Thus HIV and AIDS is a key challenge in South Africa (Mbali, 2003; Department of Health South Africa, 2007).

The highest HIV incidence is among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Shisana, *et al.*, 2005; UNAIDS and WHO, 2005; Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). Research findings have noted, with concern, the higher HIV prevalence in females (Pettifor, *et al.*, 2004; Shisana, *et al.*, 2005). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), approximately 192,000 new infections occur per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007).

The sexual behaviour of young people is crucial to their risk of acquiring HIV and other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs). The Medical Research Council (MRC) conducted the First South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey in 2002, in which they studied learners between grades 8 and 11. The MRC reports that 41% of the learners had had sex, of which 14% first experienced sexual activity under 14 years of age, 54% had more than one sexual partner, 14% had had sex after consuming alcohol or drugs, and only 29% practised consistent condom usage (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003). Narrowing down to the Western Cape, 37.8% (Male 45.1% and Female

32.7%) of the learners had had sex (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003). Other surveys report similar risky sexual behaviour; 30.5% of Anglican church-going young people aged 12 to 19 years had had sex (40% Male and 21% Female), 66% had more than one sexual partner, and 29% perceived that their partner was not faithful (Mash, Kareithi and Mash, 2006).

Research evidence points to the complexity of sexual behaviour. HIV risk behaviour is influenced by factors within the person, and also interplays with their environments (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003; Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007; Power, Langhaug and Cowan, 2007; Mathews, *et al.*, 2009). As young people bear the brunt of new HIV infections, targeting them in prevention efforts is a vital strategic approach towards halting the spread of HIV (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007). Adolescence has further been identified as the most important time to conduct education on safer sexual practices, when sexual behaviour patterns are not yet entrenched (Kaaya, *et al.*, 2002; Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003). Primary HIV prevention among young people is thus a fundamental area of focus. According to UNAIDS, key services include public information campaigns directed at young people about sexually transmitted infections and the spread of HIV, Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) at youth-friendly clinics, and peer education programmes (UNAIDS, 2005; UNAIDS, 2006b).

By 2007 “there was no evidence of a decrease in HIV infection levels among young people” in South Africa (UNAIDS and WHO, 2007, p.12). HIV has continued to spread despite various efforts, and comprehensive policies and interventions have not stemmed new HIV infections (UNAIDS, 2007). The efforts to reduce HIV incidence seem to be faltering (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007), and prevention campaigns have not had the desired impact, particularly among young people (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). However, a report released by the HSRC in 2009 shows promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers in South Africa (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009). Nonetheless, there is need for caution as the infection rate may have stabilised at a high level.

From the onset of the HIV and AIDS epidemic in South Africa, development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are reported to have emerged as crucial players in two main roles: to research, develop and deliver services, and to advocate and influence policy (Rau, 2007; AIDS Foundation South Africa, 2009; AVERT, 2009;

SANGONeT, 2009). This is consistent with international literature, which indicates that NGOs play a significant role in development (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Fisher, 1998; Lewis and Wallace, 2000; Tandon, 2000; Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Lewis, 2002; Rusteberg, Appel and Dqbrowska, 2004; Gray, Bebbington and Collison, 2006; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006; Lewis, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Lewis, 2007; Rahman, 2007; Werker and Ahmed, 2008; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b). NGOs are recognised globally not only as influential instruments of social, economic, political, educational, health, and cultural development, but also as central to contemporary development practice and discourse.

With increased recognition of the roles NGOs play, NGO performance has become an important topic of global concern. Interest has risen from NGO practitioners, governments, citizens, foundations, international aid agencies and other donors, policy makers, observers interested in accountability, performance and organisational effectiveness, as well as academics concerned with NGOs. Intensification of literature and research work on development NGO performance can be attributed to Edwards and Hulme (1995b; 1996a), who published books which collected writings on NGO performance. Edwards and Hulme (1996b) caution that the case for emphasising the role of NGOs rests on ideological grounds in the absence of empirical verification, pointing out that NGOs are not a “magic bullet” for development challenges. Several scholars have joined in the call for more empirical research on NGOs (see, for example, Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), indicating that NGO management and research are relatively new and underdeveloped fields (Lewis, 2005; Lewis, 2006).

1.2 Research problem and rationale

Despite the pivotal role NGOs play in South Africa in the health sector generally, and more so in HIV prevention service provision particularly to young people, there is relatively sparse academic literature on development NGOs. This research endeavoured to contribute to filling this gap by examining the development management of NGOs, with the fieldwork focused on NGOs that deliver prevention interventions to young people. Development management, the main theoretical conceptualisation applied in this research, calls for development organisations not only to get the work done by the best means available hence meet set goals by

coordinating internal organisational resources, but to also go beyond that into intervening in social change processes and influencing the environment in order to achieve external social goals (Thomas, 1996; Thomas, 1999).

Research on NGO performance from a development management perspective is important for a number of reasons:

- First, NGOs are reported to be key providers of HIV prevention services to young people, yet in South Africa there is little academic research on the performance of development NGOs in this regard. Additionally, commissioned performance assessment reports remain confidential documents (Cassen, 1986). In particular, no academic research was found that examined the development management of NGOs providing primary HIV prevention services to young people. Undertaking and increasing research in South Africa on NGO performance is therefore essential.
- Second, whilst there is increased recognition globally of the role NGOs play, concern remains over NGO performance with demands and pressures for improved management for results (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). There is thus need for research to enhance understanding on factors that influence the performance of NGOs.
- Third, no framework on development management was found in the literature. Additionally, review of the literature shows that there is a tendency to separate strategies of achieving internal organisational goals from those of achieving external social goals. It is therefore important to develop a simple, yet comprehensive management framework, to guide development managers into enhancing their performance by improving their development management practices.
- Fourth, development management literature emphasises the need to understand the environment within which development interventions operate (Johnson and Thomas, 2002). It is thus important to examine the internal and external environments of NGOs, utilising a multiple-constituency approach (Rojas, 2000; Herman and Renz, 2004), which incorporates the opinion of both internal and external key stakeholders.
- Fifth, as part of understanding the environment, literature indicates that the location of NGOs is crucial. However, academic research on the geographical choice of NGOs remains undeveloped (Koch, 2007). Initial investigation shows that although there are a few databases on HIV and

AIDS organisations in South Africa, no academic study was found on the location choices of these NGOs. Therefore, there is need to examine the location of NGOs, and further make analysis in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates.

In light of the above observations, there was thus the need for this research to be undertaken. It was a “testing-out research” (Phillips and Pugh, 2000) to explore development management in practice among development NGOs.

1.3 Scope

This research represents an attempt to address the above issues by exploring development management among NGOs. The coverage of the fieldwork was limited to NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people within the geographical area of Cape Town, South Africa.

1.4 Aim

The main aim of this research was to develop a framework of good practice in development management, to guide development NGOs into improving their performance in providing HIV prevention services to young people.

The central research question addressed was:

In what ways might development NGOs that offer primary HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town endeavour to improve the achievement of both internal organisational and external social goals?

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the research were:

1. To conduct a systematic literature review on the performance of development NGOs, and identify influencing factors.
2. To develop a grid of organisations that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa, and populate it with data on the type of organisation, location and nature of the services provided.

3. To identify existing development management practices in a multiple-case study of development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention services to young people.
4. To identify factors that encouraged and factors that hindered the emergence of development management practices.
5. To formulate a framework of good practice in development management.
6. To make recommendations that can inform policy on the provision of primary HIV prevention services to young people.

1.6 Research design

Given the need to gather systematic, valid and reliable data aimed at understanding and interpreting (Phillips and Pugh, 2000), both primary and secondary data were gathered. The study design was guided by the research objectives, developed to address the central research question. **Figure 1.1** summarises the outline of the research design.

Further, a link was made between the research objectives and questions with the best methods identified to generate data from the chosen data sources (Mason, 2002). This is summarised in **Table 1.1**.

Figure 1.1: Outline of the research design

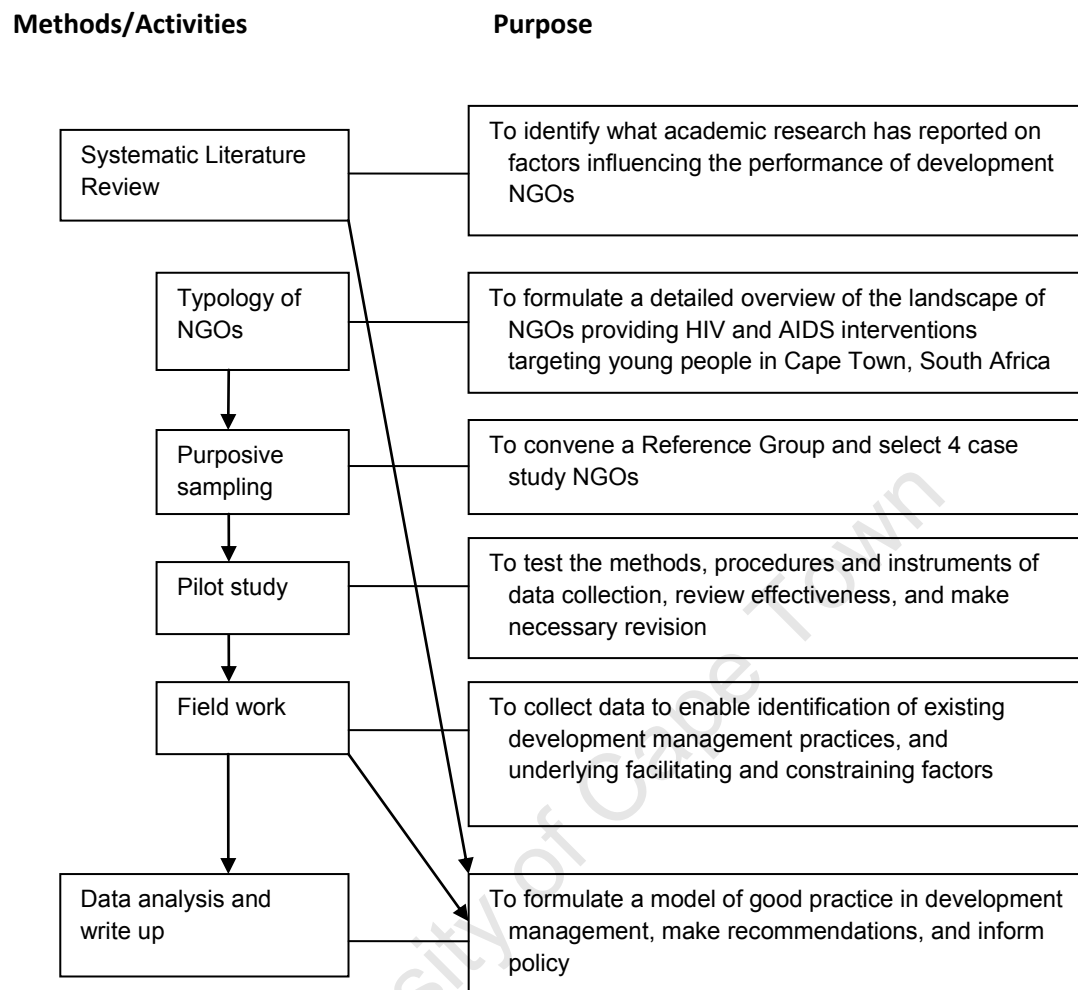


Table 1.1: Linking research objectives and questions with methods

Research objectives	Research question	Data sources	Methods	Justification
1. Conduct a systematic literature review	What has academic literature reported on the performance of development NGOs and the underlying factors? Who researches NGO performance and how is it conducted?	Published literature between 1995 and 2008	Systematic documentary identification, data extraction and analysis	The systematic review provided an objective, comprehensive and synthesised summary of the best published evidence on the performance of development NGOs. Given the volume of data extracted, the review provided further insight into whether academic research seeks the views and opinions of beneficiaries.
2. Develop typology	What does the landscape of NGOs providing HIV/AIDS interventions to young people reveal? Are NGO strategically located?	Data bases on organisations, and contact with some NGOs where there were gaps existed	Documentary analysis, and questionnaire interview	A typology development was necessary to formulate a detailed overview on NGOs providing HIV/AIDS interventions targeting young people in Cape Town. This was further utilised in purposive sampling.
3. Identify existing development management practices	What development management processes do the sampled case-study NGOs practice?	NGO Directors	Interviews	Interviews with NGO managers provided their accounts on the performance of the organisation and underlying factors.
4. Identify underlying factors	What are the facilitating factors? What are the constraining factors?	NGO Programme Managers and Programme Staff	Focus Group Discussions and drawings	Discussions with programme staff who provided primary HIV prevention services to young people provided their experiences and accounts on their work and influencing factors
		NGO Partner Organisations	Interviews	Interviews with partners provided their views and opinions on the performance of NGOs, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
		NGO Donors	Interviews	Interviews with donors provided their accounts and additional insights on the performance of NGOs, including ways in which they influence NGOs, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
		Young People	Focus Group Discussions and drawings	Discussions with young people provided a lucid picture on their external context, and their experiences, views and opinion on services rendered by NGOs.
5. Formulate model of good practice in development management 6. Make recommendations and inform policy	What key good practices must development NGOs and their stakeholders embrace? What recommendations have emerged from this research? Which recommendations have policy implications that can inform the provision of HIV prevention services to young people?	All sources used in the study	All methods used in the study Seminar presentations and plenary discussions PhD Thesis, journal articles, conference and seminar presentation	Consolidation of data built a comprehensive picture Disseminate and discuss preliminary findings and emerging recommendations from the empirical research. Disseminate the research findings as widely as possible.

1.7 Key definitions

1.7.1 Development NGOs

Development literature indicates that the definition of NGOs is complex, contested and controversial (see, for example, Spar and Dail, 2002; Goddard and Assad, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Lewis, 2007). The term NGO and NPO are used interchangeably in the literature, and refer to a diverse set of institutions. NGOs generally serve the public sector and engage in long and short-term development, and humanitarian and emergency relief. However, a few NGOs are known to serve private purposes.

Development literature further shows that there are many different categories of NGOs that serve the public interest. These include Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Grassroots Organisations (GROs), Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Non Profit Organisations (NPOs), Private Voluntary Organisations (PVOs), National NGOs (NNGOs), Regional NGOs (RNGOs), International NGOs (INGOs) charities, third sector organisations, among others. These terms seem to be based on the nature of registration, NGO activities, level of operation, and the terms used in the country of operation.

Thus, NGOs are not a homogenous group, and they serve both public and private sector interests (see, for example, Matthews, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Additionally, there is no consensus on limits of the NGO world (Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006).

Despite the fact that there are blurred boundaries on NGO definition and activities, development scholars agree that NGOs predominantly serve the public sector. Edwards and Hulme (1995b) refer to NGOs as intermediary organisations engaged in funding or offering forms of support to communities and other organisations. NGOs are also defined as Non-Government Development Organisations (NGDO) formed voluntarily and operate on a not-for-profit basis (Kelly and Chapman, 2003). Fowler (1997) states that NGOs are voluntary, non-profit, non-governmental organisations working within the framework of international development co-operation. He further argues that the term NGO is misleading and added clarity by utilising the term NGDO to refer to development NGOs. Robinson (1999) stresses that contrary to common misconception, although NGOs provide support to government they are not simply

acting as implementers, gap-fillers, or contractors in government-defined systems; NGOs are change agents that set out to influence government policies and practices. Unerman and O'Dwyer (2006) further elaborate that NGOs are neither governmental (public sector) organisations (such as central or local government services or public hospitals, schools or universities), nor private (for-profit) commercial organisations (such as local and transnational corporations).

In setting delimitations, this research adopts the use of the term NGO rather than NPO. It focuses on development NGOs, from grassroots to international level, involved in long-term development work. Hereafter, the term NGOs is utilised as a short-hand for development NGOs.

NGOs occupy a unique gap in society for they provide services to communities (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Thus the motivation of NGOs is how to make a difference in the lives of the beneficiaries of their work (Gosling, 2008). The British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) indicates that there is a consensus among development NGOs that their primary accountability is to their beneficiaries (Gosling, 2008). This research further adopts the view that beneficiaries are primary stakeholders of NGOs, and thus their interests and expectations are of paramount importance.

1.7.2 Project Cycle Management

Development interventions tend to occur within projects (Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001), and NGOs, like other development organisations, use numerous approaches for project performance management. Common to many of these approaches is the familiar Project Cycle Management (PCM) (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Cracknell, 2000).

According to Cracknell (2000) Baum W.C, an economist with the World Bank, developed the cycle in the 1970s as a rational way of conceptualising and then managing projects. The cycle consists of various progressive phases. The number of stages, and names given to each stage, varies from one organisation to another. The PCM has evolved over many years, with the continuous stream of ideas that attempt to transform theory into practice, and vice versa. It has also developed from a single loop, with a number of defined stages from start to end, to a double loop cycle or

spiral, which involves repeating the processes again with improved performance recognising that development is a long-term process of change. Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Although the PCM has limitations (see, for example, Biggs and Smith, 2003; Brett, 2003), it is used in this research as it has become a standard tool in international development to bring about planned change.

1.7.3 Development management

Since the 1990s, research in the theory and practice of development management has grown (see, for example, Hewitt and Johnson, 1999; Cooke, 2001; Lewis, 2002; Cooke, 2004; Abbott, Brown and Wilson, 2007; Lewis, 2007; Brinkerhoff, 2008; Dar and Cooke, 2008; Mowles, Stacey and Griffin, 2008; Gulrajani, 2009). Theorists have offered numerous definitions of development management, resulting in several contrasting views. For instance, some argue that development management is development administration or public administration, which has evolved from colonial administration and is a control mechanism. Others regard development management as a theory of planning and a means to describe the planning process. This contestation has reached the extent where “questioning of the theoretical underpinnings of development management can trigger energetic defensiveness” (Mowles, Stacey and Griffin, 2008, p.805), and has led to an emerging field of study referred to as critical development management (Dar and Cooke, 2008; Gulrajani, 2009).

Lewis (2005; 2007) puts forward two fundamental problems of development management. First, there is no broad agreement on the definition of development management due to the complexities that arise in efforts to combine concepts of “management” and “development”. Second, there is no agreement on the nature of development tasks and activities that need to be managed because activities are wide-ranging, and the terrain is highly contested. Nonetheless, Lewis (2007) indicates that NGO management forms a sub-set of wider development management, and is an emerging specialised field that goes beyond existing business management and public sector administration science.

In this research, the notion of development management is embraced as defined by Thomas (1996; 1999). Thomas contends that development management is a distinctive form of management with several features that distinguish it from what he termed as “conventional management”. Conventional management focuses on using resources to get the work done by the best means available, hence achieve organisational goals by co-ordinating internal organisational resources. In contrast, conceptual underpinnings of development management extend beyond internal organisational goals, towards directing effort to meet social goals external to any particular organisation. It involves management in the context of development as a long-term historical process, and management of deliberate efforts or specific tasks in interventions aimed at progressive social change by various agencies, where goals and interests are subject to value-based conflicts. It has a long-term focus aimed at external social goals rather than simply ensuring successful implementation of development projects (Thomas, 1996; Thomas, 1999; Thomas, 2007). Similarly, the concept of public management requires development managers to organise, motivate others and direct action towards the creation and achievement of public goals (Lynn Jr, 2003; Ferlie, Lynn Jr and Pollitt, 2007).

The external environment is also referred to as external context, landscape, terrain, public sphere or strategic arena. According to Robinson and Thomas (2002, p.7) the concept of strategic arena is “a way of thinking about the area of concern in which particular interventions are situated. A strategic arena will be defined more or less broadly in terms of geographic coverage, sectoral scope, and range of stakeholder involvement...if those involved in particular interventions take a strategic perspective it will imply considering their involvement in relation to other stakeholders’ actions and other possible interventions, in other words as part of their general stance within that whole arena”.

Intervening in social change processes and influencing the external environment within which organisations operate is done in a bid to enhance services provided to beneficiaries (Hewitt and Johnson, 1999; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000; Camay and Gordon, 2002; Kareithi, 2004; Thomas, 2007). It further involves managing more effective interdependence in public action, which includes and excludes a range of actors and agendas (Robinson, 1999); and embedding reflections for learning beyond operational management challenges towards joint learning opportunities with other stakeholders (Abbott, Brown and Wilson, 2007).

Effort of development managers must be directed to the public sphere aimed at meeting external social goals to improve the quality of people's lives (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). Development management is thus embedded in public action and includes the effort of the state/government, NGOs, community groups, international development organisations, aid agencies, media, and the private sector, among others. The concept of 'public action' means "purposive collective action" (Mackintosh, 1992, p.5). The arena of public action by various agencies forms the public sphere (Mackintosh, 1992). According to Campbell and Gibbs (2008, p.196), the public sphere "can be conceptualised as a tapestry, with many interwoven threads contributing to its dominant representations". Hence, development management is regarded as a set of tools for managing development interventions, as well as an interdisciplinary field, and "a means of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of development programmes and projects" (Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005: 35).

Whilst acknowledging that development management is a contested field with inherent ambiguities, and hence not above reproach (Thomas, 2007), the concept of development management is used in this research as a distinctive form of management. It includes two inter-related dimensions of organisational functioning, internal and external, which are constantly changing and influencing each other. Worthy of note here, is that literature traditionally separates organisational management strategies from what is termed advocacy strategies. In addition, what is missing from the literature is a framework that explicitly combines the achievement of internal organisation goals and external social goals. Development management makes an explicit recognition that the work of development organisations is to achieve both internal organisational goals and external social goals. According to Johnson and Thomas (2002) development organisations need to adequately manage their internal activities in ways that facilitate achievement of external social goals.

This research takes up the stand that it is not enough to simply manage a development organisation, efficiently and effectively carry out planned activities, and ensure successful implementation of development interventions. Rather, development organisations must go further and acknowledge influences exerted by contextual factors, and make explicit effort to influence them.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

This thesis has three parts. **Part A**, with the introduction chapter, has introduced the research, statement of the problem, rationale, scope, aim and objectives. It has also expounded on the main concepts utilised in this research.

Part B, with chapters 2 to 7, presents six journal articles as submitted for publication in various journals. Generally, each article presents detailed information on the aim, method, findings, discussion, recommendations and conclusions. The first and second articles are based on analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data extracted from the systematic literature review. The third article on NGO location is based on data obtained from the grid developed from the mapping of NGOs providing young people with HIV and AIDS services in Cape Town. This grid forms the sampling frame. The remaining articles are based on the multiple-case study of the four purposively sampled NGOs. The papers explore NGO management practices, young people's perception of their socio-economic environment, and NGO efforts at influencing the external environment.

Each paper has a methodology section. Additional information, which does not form part of the papers, is in the **Appendix**. During the mapping exercise, a form was developed to guide the systematic and comprehensive collection of information on NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town. This is at **Annex A - NGOs in Cape Town: Data Collection Form**. The findings on the reach of NGOs in terms of age group, race, and nature of services provided are published in *HIVAIDS and Mental Health* (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b). In negotiating access to the multiple-case study NGOs, initial contact was made with the NGO Director, to whom the researcher introduced herself and the research project. The initial verbal introduction was followed by an e-mail letter; see **Annex B - Introductory Electronic Mail to NGO Directors**. Once the young people who participated in this research were selected by the NGO Programme Staff, consent forms were sent out to their parents/guardians in advance of the FGD; see **Annex C – Letter and Parental/Guardian Consent Form**. Young people participated in the FGDs only if they were willing and gave their verbal assent, and their parents/guardians had duly signed their consent forms. A **Check List**, see **Annex D**, was developed to guide the data collection and data management process. It included the supplies needed, and actions before and after gathering data. It also had details of the way in which the researcher introduced herself and the research project, with a simplified version to

young people, reassured respondents of confidentiality, and ways of recording and managing the data. A semi-structured questionnaire was utilised to gather information and guide discussions during the individual and group interviews. A different set of questions was formulated for each data set. See details at **Annex E (E1 to E5) - Interview and Focus Group Discussion Question Guides**. Adequate space was provided in the questionnaires where field notes were written down. The data collection process yielded 12 individual interviews, 8 FGDs, and 14 drawings. Information was obtained from 4 NGO directors, 21 programme staff, 37 young people, 4 partner organisations, and 4 donors; totally to 70 people. All individual and group interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim in English, and drawings photographed. Transcribing was done by qualified transcribers who signed a **Transcriber's Confidentiality Agreement**; see **Annex F**. After the initial data analysis, a seminar was convened, in September 2008, to which all informants were invited, along with some NGO academics, consultants, and practitioners. Preliminary findings were disseminated, initial interpretations verified, feedback sought and incorporated into the final analysis. The overall list of 21 organisations that participated in the fieldwork and seminar is at **Annex G – List of Participating Organisations**.

Part C presents chapter 8, which pulls the whole thesis together and provides the concluding discussion. To start with, a summary is made of the pertinent findings of each paper. Then the framework for the institutionalisation of development management, which encompasses good practice in development management, is presented. Thereafter, the way in which the research aim and objectives have been addressed across the various papers are stated, along with contributions of this study to existing knowledge in NGO performance and development management, and the main limitations of the thesis. Finally, recommendations are made for practice, future research and policy.

PART B

Chapter 2. Performance of development NGOs: A systematic literature review

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to study the underlying factors that influence the performance of development NGOs was hers. She studied how to perform a systematic literature review, searched for publications with guidance from UCT librarians, extracted data, analysed facilitating and constraining factors, and wrote the paper. Prof Flisher provided the supervision, detailed guidelines on how to perform a systematic literature review, ensured findings were clearly stated, and paper written in the format required by the journal.

Current status

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Abstract

NGO literature is widely dispersed in numerous publications and often laborious to find. This article attempts to enhance understanding of development NGO performance by collating and discussing influencing factors. A systematic review of academic journal articles, published between 1996 and 2008, identified 31 relevant papers. Findings on facilitators and constraints are presented then discussed from a rational choice perspective. The article argues that NGOs are influenced by an intricate web of factors, and puts forward three main standpoints NGOs utilise in making decisions. Depending on one's perspective, NGO action can be interpreted as either rational or irrational behaviour.

Keywords: development management; management; NGO; performance; performance management; systematic literature review

University of Cape Town

1. Introduction

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are recognised globally not only as influential instruments of social, economic, political, educational, health, and cultural development, but also as central to contemporary development strategies and discourse. The growing number of various types of NGOs¹, reasons for their proliferation, and the significant role they play in national and international development has been well documented (see, for example, Lewis and Wallace, 2000; Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Werker and Ahmed, 2008; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b).

Along with this, there has been increasing interest and concern over the performance of NGOs by development practitioners, governments, citizens, donors, policy makers, academics, and observers interested in accountability, performance and organisational effectiveness. The primary mission of NGOs is focused on development goals desired by their targeted beneficiaries and their communities. Hence, NGO performance should be assessed from their effectiveness as an organisation in assisting beneficiaries achieve set social goals. Intensification of literature and research work on NGO performance can be attributed to a collection of writings edited by Edwards and Hulme (1995b; 1996a). They point out that NGOs are not a 'magic bullet' for development challenges, and caution that NGOs' reputation rests on ideological grounds in the absence of empirical verification (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b). Scholars have continued calling for more empirical research on NGOs (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), indicating that NGO performance measurement, beyond project assessment, is relatively new (Fowler, 1996), while NGO management and research are underdeveloped fields (Lewis, 2005; Lewis, 2006).

Existing literature reflects a mixed perspective on NGO performance. On the one hand, NGOs have a reputation of being closer to the people (Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006); have a long-term focus providing services that government and private business sectors are unable or unwilling or fail to provide (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Hulme, 2008); and, respond to emerging social

¹ The diversity of NGO typology is a complex, contested and controversial matter (see, for example, Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Lewis, 2007), which is not engaged with here. This article refers to the broad category of development NGOs, from grassroot to international level involved in long-term development work; what Fowler (1998) refers to as NGDOs. This article uses the term NGO as shorthand for development NGOs.

problems even during difficult circumstances (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; Fowler, 1997; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). Additionally, NGOs are hailed as democratisers of development, sources of development alternatives, vehicles for popular participation, advocates of the poor (Bebbington, 2005), and players in disbursing aid (Edwards and Fowler, 2002). Some donors view NGOs as contributors to good governance, more cost effective than governments, and better value for money in reaching beneficiaries, mobilising communities and ensuring local growth (Fowler, 1998; Muhumuza, 2005; Werker and Ahmed, 2008). NGOs are also regarded as significant contributors to employment, with increasingly professional and competent staff who, in most cases, are motivated and passionate to the call (Brett, 1993; Fowler, 1997).

On the other hand scholars argue that the common goals NGOs strive towards are far from being realised (Fowler, 2000), with little evidence that NGOs have made a profound difference (Hulme, 2008). Others view NGOs as ineffective, or failing to deliver development (Shivji, 2007), with accusations arising of corruption and political scandals (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), and contributors to contradictory political interests and lack of transparency. Additionally, several donor-commissioned NGO studies have reported numerous ways in which NGO performance fell short of expectations on sustainability and impact (Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006). Some scholars argue that NGOs represent diverse, contradictory and political interests, perpetuate colonial dependencies, co-opt and corrupt grassroots organisations thereby undermine people's struggle for economic, social and political liberation (Manji and O'Coill, 2002).

However, it is counter argued that there may be high and unfair expectations placed on NGOs (Zaidi, 2004), after attempts to achieve development through the government and markets seemed to have failed (Muhumuza, 2005). At times government claims that NGOs engage in political activities are attempts to damage NGOs' public reputation (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), as predatory or failing governments view NGO presence with suspicion (Lewis, 2003; Lewis, 2005; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006).

Overall, scholars note that many factors influencing NGO performance lie outside their control (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b). Hence development managers ought to 'develop an awareness of the context in which they are working' and understand 'what is likely to have an effect on what they and their organisations do' (Johnson

and Thomas, 2002, p.2). Theoretically, the concept of development management, as defined by Thomas (1996; 1999), calls on development organisations not only to get the work done by the best means available hence meet set goals by coordinating internal organisational resources, but also go beyond that into intervening in and influencing social change processes in order to achieve external social goals. Similarly, public management requires development managers to organise, motivate others and direct action towards the creation and achievement of public goals (Lynn Jr, 2003; Ferlie, Lynn Jr and Pollitt, 2007). This emphasises that NGOs operate in both an internal and external environment, and thus it is crucial to examine both environments and underlying influences.

Articles on NGOs are widely scattered in numerous publications and often laborious to find (Edwards and Fowler, 2002). Moreover few studies have collated data specifically focused on underlying influences of NGO performance. This article thus attempts to enhance understanding of NGO performance by collating and reflecting on the existing body of literature. We take an approach that offers the much needed space to examine underlying internal and external facilitators and constraints. We further discuss the findings utilising rational choice as the conceptual lens. Rational choice theory argues that people make rational decisions through calculating the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do (Scott, 2000). Additionally, people are regarded as goal-driven and choice-functional (Suzumura, 2009), make best possible decisions from their point of view, and act to achieve maximum 'utility'/benefit. In this article we will examine if the findings do or do not support the view that NGOs actions are rational, and the standpoints from which NGOs make rational decisions. In the next section, the systematic review method is briefly discussed. Then the paper presents key findings, discussion, and concludes.

2. Methodology

The search strategy attempted to systematically identify, retrieve, appraise and synthesise published journal articles, which presented findings on factors influencing NGO performance. The review followed the guidelines for undertaking systematic reviews as documented by Khan *et al.*, (2001) and Petticrew and Roberts (2006). This methodology was chosen as it calls for close adherence to a set of guidelines explicitly aimed at minimising error or bias in comprehensively reviewing available publications (Mouton, 2001; Petticrew and Roberts, 2006).

Searches were done through various electronic platforms and databases, and references of relevant articles hand-searched, to identify published journal articles worldwide between 1996 and 2008. The search period commenced from 1996, as the intensification of research on development NGO performance begun in the mid-1990s. The key search terms used included permutations of *NGO*, *NPO*, *development management*, *performance*, *effectiveness*, *accountability* and *evaluation*. A standardised explicit appraisal system was established to systematically select studies. The search and selection of articles was first undertaken in 2007. To reduce researcher bias from the selection process, the researcher repeated the process in 2009, and comments from anonymous reviewers on the initial search were taken into consideration.

The search found 14,469 citations. Screening resulted in 80 potentially relevant papers, whose full versions were obtained and evaluated in detail. Out of these, an additional 49 were excluded as they did not fully meet the inclusion criteria. Ultimately, 31 articles were selected (see **Table 2.1**), hard copies obtained, and articles carefully reviewed and summarised.

Table 2.1: Selected journal articles²

#	Publication year	Authors
1-4	2008	Benjamin; Gneiting; Höhn; O'Dwyer and Unerman.
5-10	2007	Carman; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega; Dar; Jung and Moon; Nanavati; Srinivasan.
11-15	2006	Barr and Fafchamps; Bornstein; Goddard and Assad; Kalb; Kilby.
16-20	2005	Barr, Fafchamps and Owens; Bebbington; Ebrahim; Fruttero and Gauri; Kegeles, Rebchook, and Tebbetts.
21-22	2004	Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan; Lewis and Madon.
23-26	2003	Bornstein; Ebrahim; Khan; Porter.
27-28	2002	Ebrahim; Mebrahtu.
29	2000	Roche
30	1999	Edwards
31	1997	Wallace

A tabulated framework for quantitative and qualitative data extraction was designed and utilised to capture relevant data. Administrative details were analysed and reported elsewhere; see chapter 3. Data on factors influencing NGO performance

² See references for the full titles.

was thematically analysed, and results on facilitators and constraints presented in the following section.

3. Results

3.1 Facilitating factors

3.1.1 NGOs as preferred institutional substitutes to governments

The failure of governments to generate growth and alleviate poverty led to a desire by development aid agencies and donors to reduce the role of governments (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006; Kalb, 2006). Donors also recognised that market forces are insufficient in addressing development challenges. Donors thus sought after NGOs as they regarded them as influential for they have greater autonomy and worked at grassroots levels (Edwards, 1999; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006), were players in the democratisation process (Höhn, 2008), and can be discarded more easily when necessary. Donors thus applied the strategy of 'institutional substitution' and used NGOs as quick-fix substitutes for the government and private sectors (Kalb, 2006). Similarly, NGOs found favour with governments for the provision of public services (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006; Jung and Moon, 2007).

This resulted in a drastic increase in NGOs' role in international development and aid delivery (Wallace, 1997; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007), which enhanced their institutional legitimacy through reputation and recognition effects. It further led to 'resource inter-dependence' whereby NGOs need donors and governments for money, who in turn needed NGOs for their reputation in development activities (Ebrahim, 2003; Jung and Moon, 2007).

3.1.2 Resource mobilisation

Increased resources were a major facilitating factor. NGOs developed various strategies to access funding. Some founders of national NGOs initially identified community needs and raised funds through their own sources, from friends and well-wishers (Srinivasan, 2007). Further effort raised revenue from members, non-members and fund raising profits (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005), while the establishment of advisory boards, with professional expertise, furthered the cause of NGOs and increased revenue (Srinivasan, 2007).

As NGOs increasingly became the preferred implementing agencies they lobbied for additional funding. Some national NGOs became selective in forming relationships, preferring to work with international NGOs and donors who supported and funded them on a long-term basis (Edwards, 1999). Additionally, NGOs conducted evaluations and attached the reports when submitting grant proposals (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). Once in partnership with donor agencies, NGOs coped with accounting procedures and professionalisation demands (Porter, 2003), developed accountability mechanisms, kept financial records, used monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems to demonstrate their efficiency and effectiveness in implementation and impacts, and publicised their work (Roche, 2000; Ebrahim, 2003; Ebrahim, 2005; Bornstein, 2006; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). NGOs did these to serve as symbolic functions in competing in the crowded NGO sector, and hence enable continued funding and attracted economically powerful donors. Further, some NGOs with government contracts for public service delivery did not commence work before the grant was sanctioned (Nanavati, 2007), hence avoiding depleting their resources. Indirectly, partnership with government was useful in fund raising, as some donors required proof of partnership with government (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005).

NGOs also sought to maintain funding that provided positive reputation, recognition effects, enhanced legitimacy and credibility (Ebrahim, 2005; Goddard and Assad, 2006; Jung and Moon, 2007; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Ultimately, NGOs fulfilled an intermediate role in a chain which generates and transfers not only financial resources, but also knowledge, technology and information (Wallace, 1997; Bebbington, 2005).

3.1.3 External pressure and requirements

As the role of NGOs in international development drastically increased, so did the stake of donors and governments in the outcomes of NGO performance. There was pressure on NGOs to demonstrate results and impact of their work (Roche, 2000; Bebbington, 2005). Donors utilised performance measurement information to facilitate contract monitoring, reporting, and to inform programme practice and public policy (Carman, 2007). 'Success-driven' donors were selective and critical in their funding decisions, became increasingly pre-occupied with effectiveness, demanded verifiable proof of results and evaluated impacts of their donations (Bornstein, 2006;

Gneiting, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). This was driven by the need to inform an increasingly discerning public support base, and backed by public and media pressure (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). In other cases, there was need to satisfy the dictates of bilateral and multilateral donors, who in turn inform parliamentarians and treasuries of granting governments (Wallace, 1997; Porter, 2003; Bebbington, 2005).

NGOs have had to produce and send more quantitative product-data with easily measurable indicators, and less qualitative process-data (Ebrahim, 2002). This was attributed to donors requiring information in a format suited to measuring results and demonstrate success over short budget cycles (Wallace, 1997). NGOs sent scheduled programme and financial progress reports based on clear activities or line-items according to contract agreements, which demonstrated progress toward targets and timely utilisation of funds (Ebrahim, 2002). Meanwhile, donors argued that they impose regulations, monitor, demand reports and visit so as to coordinate and standardise NGO interventions, avoid conflict and duplication, and track and hold NGOs to account to protect public interests (Ebrahim, 2003; Khan, 2003; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Ebrahim, 2005; Jung and Moon, 2007). Many donors conducted mid-term and end of grant evaluations to assess whether and to what extent goals and objectives have been achieved, and to assess cost-effectiveness to determine future funding (Ebrahim, 2003).

Donors further exerted pressure on NGOs to improve performance and accountability (Goddard and Assad, 2006), procedural systems (Bornstein, 2006), institutional restructuring, strategic thinking and self-evaluation (Wallace, 1997). Funding was conditional on NGOs signing contracts that stipulated commitment to adopt performance-driven approaches (Benjamin, 2008), operational management tools, and planning techniques that rationally link inputs to desired results such as Logical Framework Analysis (Wallace, 1997; Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006) and Results-Based Management Framework. Some donors used negotiable terms and recommended in a genteel manner the use of management tools, training programmes, financial accountability and reporting formats, whilst others adopted a coherent and 'no-nonsense' approach with stringent contractual conditions (Bornstein, 2003; Jung and Moon, 2007).

Furthermore, NGOs are legally required to account to their trustees or board. In some countries NGOs are required to provide accounts and reports to renew their registration annually with the NGO Registration Board (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005), and to produce financial statements, reports and file tax returns annually in a bid to maintain their tax exemption status (Ebrahim, 2003; Ebrahim, 2005).

3.1.4 Internal organisational capacity and skills

Generally, NGOs adopted managerial concepts, tools and practices to work in partnership with donors (Dar, 2007) and meet external demands (Wallace, 1997). NGOs adopted emerging practices to 'survive and thrive' (Goddard and Assad, 2006), with emphasis on internal organisational values, strong shared organisational culture, common analysis of social problems and strategies for development (Edwards, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003).

NGOs further developed performance accountability mechanisms, with quantitative and qualitative indicators, to facilitate multiple accountability to a wide range of stakeholders, and to signify long-term achievement of mission and impact on social change (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). NGOs developed accountability to donors (upward accountability), to beneficiaries (downward accountability) and to themselves (internal accountability), and sought to meet their commitments so as to symbolise, maintain and enhance organisational competence, legitimacy and existence justification (Goddard and Assad, 2006; Benjamin, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). NGOs also desired a central and influential position and enhanced competitive advantage, therefore ensured that their work and reports reflected appropriate resource utilisation (Goddard and Assad, 2006; Gneiting, 2008).

NGOs further conducted external evaluations and audits, improved governance, board reconstruction, appointed management consultants, multinational audit firms or government-approved local firms. This was done to sway previously reluctant donors, secure funds and provide management information for decision making (Khan, 2003; Goddard and Assad, 2006), within the context of increased competition for funding among NGOs, and fear of funds revocation or erosion of public confidence (Ebrahim, 2003).

NGOs increasingly invested in critical management functions such as financial management, fund raising, strategic planning, personnel management, donor

development and multiple-donor management (Carman, 2007). They further built personnel capacity to ensure effective management, monitoring, evaluation, reporting and performance measurement (Ebrahim, 2005; Goddard and Assad, 2006). This was done for internal strategic operations, improve standards, practices, decision making and accountability, identify problematic areas (Bornstein, 2003), strengthen institutional learning, satisfy donor demands, and provide legitimacy for their viewpoints (Mebrahtu, 2002).

NGOs undertook accounting as it was symbolic in reflecting organisational competence and appropriate use of resources, assisting them gain legitimacy, reliability, integrity, credibility and provided space for bargaining for change (Goddard and Assad, 2006). NGOs established reporting systems with systematised documentation (ranging from rigid, time-bound mechanisms to fluid and flexible means) with donor reports used as a textual space to create an organisational narrative and image as a strategy to negotiate autonomy, and ensure greater freedom in the way NGOs work (Dar, 2007). Furthermore, NGOs developed organisational values, standards and codes of conduct to forestall potentially restrictive government regulations, redeem their image as a result of public scandals, and to influence national and international policy (Ebrahim, 2003).

NGOs increasingly embraced organisational assessments. This was done in recognition of the need to critically evaluate and enhance their work (Ebrahim, 2005), improve beneficiary reach, develop new intervention approaches, know what difference they make (Roche, 2000; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), and to generate useful insights and learning (Mebrahtu, 2002; Ebrahim, 2005).

Many NGOs have committed personnel with wide knowledge gained through experience. NGOs increasingly endeavoured to retain competent, entrepreneurial professional and non-professional staff, as well as full and part-time volunteers (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Bornstein, 2006; Kalb, 2006; Höhn, 2008). These personnel were able to fund-raise, design programmes that fitted with donor requirements, and at times set targets below expectations so as to appear efficient (since targets have become the yardstick for success or failure), and put considerable time into monitoring, evaluation and reporting (Ebrahim, 2002; Bornstein, 2006). Some NGO managers were able to work effectively and learn within existing constraints, and find ways around intrusive requirements such as

meeting with donors to discuss, negotiate and settle upon a common reporting format to reduce the time and effort spent on reporting, re-negotiated terms or outright refused funds from certain donors (Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006). This was done in a bid to keep to their long-term goal and avoid anything that might prejudice impact or sustainability (Edwards, 1999). Further, NGOs utilised professionals from various sources such as management consultants, technical assistance providers, donor commissioned management and development consultants, and board members. Some boards incorporated university staff interested in M&E (Carman, 2007). Expertise of other board members ensured that financial and programme policies and procedures, budgets, audits and internal accountability mechanisms were in place (Khan, 2003; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005).

3.1.5 Organisational learning

There is an emerging realisation that organisational effectiveness is positively correlated with learning from experience, and a growing desire to learn through assessing what works, what does not, what difference is made, whether or not targeted beneficiaries are reached or if strategies need to be changed (Roche, 2000; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). Hence, NGOs attempted to articulate objectives and expected results, conducted research and evaluations to support implementation, generate useful insights and learn (Lewis and Madon, 2004; Ebrahim, 2005), and developed social auditing processes to obtain views from stakeholders including the local community (Ebrahim, 2003).

In a desire to enhance organisational learning, NGOs ensured that impact assessment processes were simple, relevant and useful (Roche, 2000). They developed more people-friendly and qualitatively oriented M&E systems, linked planning with evaluation (Mebrahtu, 2002) and sought to improve documentation to enhance learning (Dar, 2007). NGOs utilised strategic planning processes to reaffirm or rediscover their mandate, root themselves within the wider context, and to identify their particular strengths and niche in light of competition for funding (Wallace, 1997).

Some NGOs deepened learning within and across organisations, through dedicating time to reflection, and offered courses on organisational development (Bornstein, 2006). Other NGOs attempted to learn and adapt to changes in the unstable and complex external environments (Gneiting, 2008), and engaged in analysis of failure

(Ebrahim, 2005), by maintaining a balance between beneficiary development and organisational development (Edwards, 1999).

3.1.6 Beneficiary participation

As the notions of participation, empowerment of beneficiaries and valuing local knowledge began to gain acceptance, NGOs recognised that it was important to gauge the relevance of their interventions, stay in touch, gain legitimacy, and remain relevant to beneficiaries as a just way to act with integrity (Kilby, 2006). There was thus increasing awareness of the value of effective beneficiary involvement (Khan, 2003; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006; Kilby, 2006; Benjamin, 2008). NGOs endeavoured to encourage beneficiary involvement in needs assessment, implementation/service delivery and evaluation. This was done by seeking beneficiary views and opinions, agreeing on responsibilities, and addressing any potential conflict of interests through surveys, direct observation, participatory development workshops, solidarity forums, and discussions with opinion leaders. However, other NGOs are accused of imposing interventions on their beneficiaries based on the expertise at the NGO's disposal or based on donor requirements.

NGOs increasingly recognised the importance of downward accountability to beneficiaries and communities (Mebratu, 2002; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006), so held informal, irregular meetings or more formal, scheduled meetings (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Kilby, 2006). Generally, NGOs utilised informal rather than hierarchical accountability mechanisms. Through this, NGOs aimed to sustain the benefits of their work by strengthening the capacity of local people and institutions (Edwards, 1999).

3.1.7 Partnership and networking

NGOs recognised that partnership building was a tool for development, through which they could share critical resources, pool experiences, transfer and create new knowledge, synergistic solutions, and be a conduit for influencing wider structures (Edwards, 1999). In their attempt to advocate and collectively negotiate for space for improved development, NGOs have formed partnerships, networks, alliances and coalitions with other agencies including local groups, public and private sector organisations, academics, researchers and donors (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005; Bornstein, 2006). For instance, some NGOs are assisted by partners to write donor reports (Bornstein, 2006), or draw on

experience from their 'mother' NGO (Lewis and Madon, 2004). Technical assistance providers, university researchers and evaluation experts provide help with evaluations (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). As reported earlier, partnership with government departments/ministries facilitated NGO work, and screening processes for funding as some donors required proof of support from government authorities (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005).

3.1.8 Strategic location

Contrary to the popular notion that NGOs strategically locate their operations in the neediest communities, evidence from the literature does not concur. However, it seemed that many NGOs indeed locate in relatively needy communities, and maintained a permanent presence in communities they work in (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). NGOs also targeted areas with a large pool of potential beneficiaries and reached communities in new areas, due to the need to distinguish their development work from that of others (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005).

3.1.9 Influencing the environment

NGOs endeavoured to influence in ways that facilitated their work and performance. For instance, some NGOs encouraged strategic voting for government officials who were sympathetic to their cause and directed more resources to NGOs and their beneficiaries (Edwards, 1999). Other NGOs challenged donors to change their policies to permit more equitable donor-recipient relationships, such as evaluation of donors, more appropriate M&E procedures, and creative ways of data gathering other than report writing (Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006). Furthermore, NGOs submitted reports to donors to state what is important, challenge and change expectations, ensure donors understand their practices (Benjamin, 2008), bargain for change, and to create less burdensome reporting (Goddard and Assad, 2006).

NGOs also influenced, though to a lesser extent, their external environment. There was appreciation of the need to be aware of the local context, and endeavour to create supportive economic, political and social environments (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004). Further, NGOs were growingly aware of the need to understand and link action at the local level with the global context (Edwards, 1999; Lewis and Madon, 2004).

3.2 Constraining factors

3.2.1 Resource dependency constraints

Resource dependency exposed NGOs to a patronage context that was highly structured with power imbalances, shaped accountability and rules (Bebbington, 2005; Ebrahim, 2005). Interests, plans, political and economic priorities of donors and governments often superseded the missions, goals, values and beliefs of NGOs. Further, the desires and agendas of developed countries were upheld while ignoring learning and inputs from developing countries (Wallace, 1997; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). Hence, NGOs experienced reduced managerial and organisational autonomy in choices, goal setting, resource allocation and financial management (Bebbington, 2005; Jung and Moon, 2007). This caused a conflict within NGOs between donor-based priorities and the development desires of communities.

The aid system assumes that the project model, blueprint, pre-determined set of cause-and-effect relationships turns resources, knowledge and technology into desired sustainable development. Dependence on official aid exposed NGOs to underlying models of planning with bureaucratic processes, specific administrative, functional, procurement and accounting requirements, complex appraisals, and piece-meal reporting (Ebrahim, 2005; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007; Jung and Moon, 2007). NGOs were further pressured to adopt hierarchical accountability mechanisms and practices that at times threatened mission attainment (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Moreover, NGOs became vulnerable to changing donor fashions, intrusion and scrutiny (Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006). Donor dependence also narrowed accountability upwards, and hence NGOs risk being co-opted or eclipsed by donor priorities and agendas (Edwards, 1999; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). These findings are based on the theoretical grounding of the Resource Dependency Perspective (Pfeffer, 1997; Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). In part, it states that some organisations have 'more power than others because of the particularities of their interdependence and their location in social space' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p.xiii). Donors and governments have therefore acquired power over NGOs as they are substantial providers of resources to NGOs.

3.2.2 Inappropriate external pressure and interference

Studies have shown that some donor approaches are incompatible with participatory, experiential, people-centred development. The quantitative performance

measurement tools, increasingly embraced by donors, conflict with the beneficiary-oriented work since the quantifiable criteria fail to account for the complex dynamics in the development process (Ebrahim, 2002; Gneiting, 2008). It framed NGOs' work in simplified terms focused on a narrow range of performance measures (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Simple models of cause-and-effect promoted performance valuations with 'egocentric' results (Roche, 2000: p.548), omitted influences and change processes in the wider environment, promoted specific hierarchical accountability mechanisms and practices, and were too short-term for empowerment strategies (Gneiting, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). This pressured NGOs to sacrifice long-term impact strategies for short-term presentable outcomes, and embraced the use of business terminologies with a business-oriented approach (Gneiting, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Donors further pressured NGOs to professionalise and adopt rational planning, management, analysis and evaluation tools. These introduced bureaucratic systems that were often inappropriate, rigid, and hierarchical, caused increased reporting requirements, fear and anxiety, staff resentment due to top-down impositions, and created incentives for deception (Wallace, 1997; Ebrahim, 2002; Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006; Gneiting, 2008). Donor interference further contributed to organisational disturbance (Khan, 2003). As a rational defence reflex, some NGOs protected themselves through incomplete disclosure in reporting and evaluations, and professionalised to avoid misunderstanding and adverse funding effects (Ebrahim, 2002; Dar, 2007).

Many donor approaches, based on pre-determined outputs and time-bound project cycles, required use of reporting formats with strict outlines (Bornstein, 2006). These were mechanical, demotivating and hampered innovative thinking (Ebrahim, 2002; Dar, 2007). Donor evaluations focused on discrete projects and were used as a control and justification mechanism rather than as tools for learning (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007).

Furthermore, performance measurement presumes an environment of certainty and control in which certain changes can be attributed to effects of NGO activities (Gneiting, 2008). These approaches were inappropriate as they attempted to prove cause-effect relationships, which were at best uncertain, and the determination of future objective knowledge was not valid given many influential external factors. NGOs implement interventions for which it was difficult to conduct outcome evaluations (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). Nonetheless, there was

reluctance to admit that effectiveness was unpredictable and difficult to assess, because support for development aid depended on the public's belief in its effectiveness (Roche, 2000).

3.2.3 Inadequate organisational capacity and skills

NGOs concentrated on activities, rather than developing internal controls, mainly due to the dominant culture of daily action over reflection, and donor imposition of excessive conditionalities and onerous reporting (Ebrahim, 2005). Further, donors funded projects with little or no resources allocated to organisational development. NGOs focused on upward and external accountability, while downward and internal accountability mechanisms were comparatively neglected (Ebrahim, 2003; Khan, 2003). For instance, piecemeal multiple-donor accounting and reporting proved detrimental to improving internal accounting and institutional capacity development (Goddard and Assad, 2006). Many NGOs had informal administrative processes and limited managerial practices, confined mainly to accounting and finance due to statutory requirements (Srinivasan, 2007).

NGOs further faced inadequate organisational capacity in human, technical and material resources. Many national NGOs were created, managed by and continued to employ people with little formal exposure and training in NGO ideas and concepts (Lewis and Madon, 2004; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), while some NGO founders tended to make most of the decisions (Srinivasan, 2007). NGOs experienced difficulties employing skilled managerial and professional staff, faced high staff turnover and hence limited retention of institutional knowledge. This was mainly attributed to poor salary structures and limited funding especially for basic operations and overheads, experienced staff advanced to international agencies with better salaries and benefits, whilst young university graduates did not regard NGOs as a career choice (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007; Nanavati, 2007). Critiques argue that some international NGOs exploit this situation by sending their new staff to national NGOs as expatriates, but the underlying motive is to use local NGOs as training grounds for their personnel who come as directors or holders of other high ranking positions, even when they are not adequately qualified.

Added to this complexity was the negative attitude of some NGO staff. They regarded reporting requirements, outcome measurement and organisational

performance assessment as a nuisance, greater pressure for accountability, extra burden, time consuming, costly, unnecessary distraction from real work, confusing, redundant and destructive (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005; Bornstein, 2006; Carman, 2007; Benjamin, 2008). This is in line with Fowler's (1997) view that there is a tendency to regard formal management and organisational assessment as inappropriate and anti-people. Often, M&E was not integrated into management and policy development, inappropriate methods and tools of assessment were used, and data collected were late, unusable or inadequate (Mebrahtu, 2002; Carman, 2007). Scarcity of data and weakness of evaluation methods led to weak links between information gathered and conclusions drawn, while reports focused on outputs achieved rather than outcomes and broader impacts (Ebrahim, 2002). This was mainly caused by high workloads and limited time, exacerbated by different documentation demands by donors who at the same time declined to fund operational expenses. Further, NGOs limited staff, inadequate personnel knowledge and skills minimised the opportunity for field programmes to design locally appropriate systems (Mebrahtu, 2002; Bornstein, 2003; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005; Carman, 2007).

NGOs also have internal power struggles and non-participatory practices (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). For instance, some donor-commissioned NGO directors changed goals and introduced ideas outside of any strategic framework, learning, or clear long-term objectives (Edwards, 1999). In addition, governance and management were not clearly separated, donors and beneficiaries were erratically included in boards, and boards were established merely to meet statutory requirements. This is in line with the argument that invisible and inaudible boards simply act as rubber-stamps (Tandon, 1995).

Some staff were not motivated or committed to NGOs' work (Nanavati, 2007), while professional NGO elite and bureaucrats used NGOs as alternative and lucrative sources of income (Kalb, 2006). This supports sentiments that some NGOs are composed of self-serving developmental elite who serve less desirable ends and intensify social inequality (Narayan, *et al.*, 1999; Benjamin and Misra, 2006).

3.2.4 Inadequate resources

Most NGOs operate in resource scarce contexts that led to donor dependency, making many NGOs implementing agencies for governments and donors, and thus

more responsive to their concerns. Furthermore, in recent years, governments have become a legitimate recipient of international funding and therefore a direct competitor with NGOs (Höhn, 2008), along with other private companies who increasingly undertake development work.

NGO financial insecurity was further exacerbated as donors imposed new systems of financial management such as match-funding, retrospective or invoice-funding (Goddard and Assad, 2006). NGOs receiving grants through local governments struggle to get disbursements and, as a result, a few paid bribes to effect release of funds (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005). NGOs operated by individuals focused on personal gain, allocated a large portion of the funding towards salaries, fringe benefits and other operational costs, with minimal allocation to programme work. In response, many donors shifted towards project-specific funding, insisted on unrealistically low overheads, and were reluctant or refused to fund non-project costs. As donors no longer provide organisation-wide funding, this resulted in NGOs being under administered and managed (Bornstein, 2003; Höhn, 2008). Additionally, when donor funding priorities change, NGOs working outside new priority areas lose out on funding.

Funding decline was also attributed to inadequate proposals and report writing, budget planning and performance monitoring, as many NGO staff have inadequate management and reporting skills (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007; Höhn, 2008). Ironically, donor management, reporting requirements and evaluations over-stretched NGO scarce resources (Ebrahim, 2002; Ebrahim, 2003).

3.2.5 Inadequate learning, innovation and organisational development

The NGO culture of service delivery over analysis to gain legitimacy through doing resulted in little time being prioritised to conduct surveys of community needs, plan activities, assess performance, follow up beneficiaries after service delivery, solve problems, develop more appropriate accountability mechanisms, document evidence, conduct evaluations, and to reflect on their actions and practices (Dar, 2007; Nanavati, 2007; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). This finding corresponds to the argument that the dominant culture of emphasised action subordinates reflection, analysis and learning (Fowler, 1997), while few NGO managers have tools to think about the implications of their work (Robinson, 1999).

Additionally, there was limited knowledge of happenings at grassroots levels due to weaknesses in information management (Lewis and Madon, 2004). It was also reported that some staff preferred to document evidence, not through text-writing, but through performance of drama and songs (Dar, 2007). Unfortunately, this innovative approach was not always appreciated.

The inclination of many donors towards project-based funding contributed to NGOs' inadequate resources for core costs and organisational development, leading to limited investment in M&E. This resulted, for instance, in simple collection of input and output information while failing to gather more useful evaluation and performance measurement data (Carman, 2007). There was also superficial or non-existent pre-project appraisals, struggles to clearly link vision and mission with their daily activities, and objectives and indicators were not closely matched to the desired developmental goals (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005).

Further, some NGOs were sceptical about the purpose of evaluations, fearing that unfavourable results may negatively reflect on the staff and the organisation (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), as donors rewarded success but punished failure by revocation of funds and imposition of additional conditionalities (Ebrahim, 2005). This resulted in these NGOs avoiding evaluations where possible. Consequently, there was inadequate innovation and failure to learn from both success and failure (Ebrahim, 2005).

3.2.6 Inadequate beneficiary participation

Kelly *et al.* (2004) argue that beneficiary participation is crucial because beneficiaries know what impact they want, what is helpful and what is not. There are considerable barriers to dialogue with beneficiaries before implementation of interventions and development of accountability mechanisms. This was due to several reasons: NGOs perceived that achievement results from assisting beneficiaries but downward accountability was not a priority; NGOs missed opportunities or have few incentives to be accountable to their beneficiaries; policy making and agenda-setting remained the exclusive domain of top management; NGOs perceived it practically difficult to provide accountability to beneficiaries while upward external accountability was considered less problematic, more achievable and realisable; and beneficiaries do not engage in and do not explicitly demand accountability (Khan, 2003; Lewis and

Madon, 2004; Kilby, 2006; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Thus there was inadequate seeking and consideration of beneficiaries' perspectives and participation in the design, expected outcomes and evaluations (Bornstein, 2003; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004). Furthermore, the donor-driven, market-based performance measurement tools placed inadequate emphasis on a beneficiary-centred process-oriented approach (Gneiting, 2008). Hence NGOs' work remained somewhat disconnected to beneficiaries' struggles and priorities (Lewis and Madon, 2004).

3.2.7 Inadequate partnership and networking

Partnership has been a recognised principle in development literature for a long time. There was evidence that NGOs fostered partnerships particularly with donors (as discussed in section 3.1). Evidence however showed that there was minimal partnership among NGOs. This was mainly attributed to competition for donor funding as stringent donor requirements foster tensions and rivalry among NGOs rather than synergy and collaboration (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). At times partnerships proved to be inappropriate, due to some dominant international partners eroding confidence in local knowledge, imposing external ideas thereby hampering NGOs' alternative long-term development goals (Porter, 2003).

3.2.8 Inappropriate strategic location

Although NGOs are regarded as being 'closer to the people', evidence showed that there was considerable geographical clustering and operation in the same location. This resulted in extensive duplication of effort, neglect of the most isolated, remote and needy communities, and therefore programmes were not always related to indicators of community needs (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). This observation was in line with recent research findings that NGOs fail to utilise objective-beneficiary-need-based grounds for strategic location of NGO offices and more so sites of service provision (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a).

3.2.9 Inadequate influencing of the external environment

As noted earlier, NGOs operate in a distinctly complex historical, political and economic environment, with diverse interests, power structures, social and cultural processes. NGOs also operate in a 'cut-throat' environment where they constantly compete for donor funding, beneficiaries, and government endorsement. However, NGOs are not able to control many external factors that influence intervention outcomes.

The complex environment becomes more adverse in the absence of functional government and private sectors, while substituting NGOs for private and public institutions weakens the NGO sector and perpetuates institutional failures (Kalb, 2006). As a result of some multilateral and bilateral corporations bypassing governments, the latter attempted to control NGOs and their resources (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). In all this, NGOs have failed to intensively consider and address forces that undermine their work, and more often than not, the complex external environment was ignored when evaluating NGO performance (Edwards, 1999; Roche, 2000).

4. Discussion

The purpose of this review is to collate and discuss factors influencing NGO performance. Findings provide a comprehensive picture of the numerous influences on NGOs. Key facilitators are: NGOs as preferred institutional substitutes to governments; resource mobilisation; external pressure and requirements; internal organisational capacity; organisational learning; beneficiary participation; partnership and networking; strategic location; and, influencing the environment. Major constraints are: resource dependency constraints; inappropriate external pressure and interference; inadequate organisational capacity; inadequate resources; inadequate learning, innovation and organisational development; inadequate beneficiary participation; inadequate partnership and networking, inappropriate strategic location; and, inadequate influencing of the external environment. Evidence thus confirms that NGOs are influenced by numerous internal and external factors. Strikingly some, such as resource mobilisation, mirror a double-sided coin as they emerged as both facilitators and constraints. Additionally, NGOs have not only positioned themselves to enhance their performance, but have also been pressured to do so particularly by donors.

Evidence further suggests that there are key practices that need to be incorporated into NGO performance management. The Project Cycle Management (PCM) is a standard framework utilised in performance management, as it is a rational way of conceptualising and then managing projects (Cracknell, 2000). Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation,

monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Given findings from this review, there was need to modify the PCM and incorporate four key processes namely; strategic location, beneficiary participation, influencing the external environment, and organisational learning. This formed the Development NGO Management Cycle; see chapter 5.

Deeper analysis of the findings on factors influencing NGO performance, further sheds light on the rationality of how NGOs behave taking three main positions to:

- 1) Build and sustain organisational competence and reputation.
- 2) Achieve developmental goals as desired by their targeted beneficiaries.
- 3) Comply with contractual agreements with their donors.

In acting rationally to build and sustain their competence and reputation, NGOs have endeavoured to undertake various measures, such as improved service to beneficiaries; improved organisational capacity through seeking competent and entrepreneurial staff; and, adopted strategic thinking and processes to reaffirm or rediscover their mandate and special niche. These have also been done in a self-interest manner to secure additional funding and resist external pressure and interference. To achieve developmental goals as desired by their targeted beneficiaries and communities NGOs have, for instance, undertaken beneficiary need assessment; located strategically to reach beneficiaries (though these are not always the neediest in the communities); embraced some level of beneficiary participation; formed strategic partnerships; and, desired to be learning organisations to extend impact of their development work. Resource mobilisation has also significantly enabled NGOs to improve their operational management, expand and scale up development work. To comply with contractual agreements with donors, NGOs have, for instance, coped with accounting, professionalisation, management, monitoring, evaluation and reporting demands.

However, not all action by NGOs is fundamentally rational. For instance, evidence illustrates that resource dependency exposes NGOs to several underlying constraints. These include a patronage context with reduced managerial and organisational autonomy; bureaucratic management processes; emphasis on more quantitative, easily measurable performance indicators and targets; donor-drivenness rather than upholding beneficiary/community-needs; overshadowed

beneficiaries/communities development desires as some NGO and donor approaches are incompatible with people-centred development; skewed accountability upward at the opportunity cost of internal and downward accountability; and, threatened NGO mission attainment. Additionally, there is increasing pressure on NGOs to apply business tools to provide structures that enable improvement in organisational management, effectiveness and accountability (Walsh and Lenihan, 2006). Wallace (2000) cautions that the uncritical importation of business management techniques is a key danger to NGOs.

Clearly, there is an intricate web of factors influencing NGOs. Indeed, there seems to be higher expectations placed on NGOs given that, in many cases, they are institutional substitutes for governments in implementing development programmes, and there is a resource inter-dependence between NGOs and donors. Nonetheless, some NGO choices seem irrational as they do not fit in with the rational choice view that highlights the immense cost of loss of autonomy and legitimacy when an organisation is driven by another's agenda. This concurs with Fowler's (1996) argument that mechanism of the aid system and the process of socio-economic change are incompatible. Acceptance of resource dependency constraints and complying with contractual agreements with donors can, nevertheless, be viewed as rational in an endeavour to secure adequate resources for development work. Some scholars state that resource dependency and loss of autonomy is not the real concern; rather it is the way funds are negotiated and the associated terms and conditions (Biggs and Neame, 1995; Mueller, *et al.*, 2005). Hence, organisations need to reduce vulnerability by 'managing the interdependencies themselves' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p.106).

With NGOs, funding dependency is a phenomenon that is here and likely to stay. Even so, NGOs should not be pressured to blindly utilise tools and processes originating from the private or public sectors. Rather NGOs need to build their capacity to be able to constantly assess their needs, examine proposals put before them, make rational decisions and adapt aspects deemed suitable to enhance their developmental work. Additionally, NGOs must maintain a balance between building good relations with their donors, and rationally working towards minimising the adverse effects of resource dependency, by adapting strategies such as multiple-donor funding, and enhancing the practice of reflection, learning, innovation and dissemination of reports that communicate good practices learnt from their work

experiences. This could contribute to increasing the bargaining power of NGOs during negotiations with their donors.

Another illustration of irrational action is the confirmed evidence that although NGO performance is influenced by numerous internal and external factors NGOs fail, in most cases, to scan, analyse and influence their external environment despite repeated calls. Bebbington (2005) argues that it is important to understand the environment as this will shift the analytical burden from one of blaming to one of explaining. However, minimal attention has been paid to the complex, difficult, rapidly changing environment within which NGOs operate (Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006). Hulme (2008) further states that NGOs fail to examine key players in the underlying processes. Although this information has been known for some time, in practice, NGOs seem to be slow to take adequate cognisance and make a significant shift (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008). Findings from this review suggest these failures are mainly attributed to the NGO dominant culture of daily action; the nature of funding focused on implementation; inadequate investment in learning and innovation; and, failure to effectively involve beneficiaries. There is thus need for NGOs, and their stakeholders, to be aware and understand how each factor influences their performance. It is important not only to focus on NGO organisational attributes and internal organisational development, but also to scan and analyse the external environment in which they operate (Johnson and Thomas, 2002). This is in line with the argument by Hulme and Goodhand (2000) that excessive organisational introspection can weaken long-term mission and undermine the quality and reliability of NGO performance.

Strengths and limitations

A key strength of this study is that it has considerably synthesised information on factors influencing NGO performance from available journal articles between 1996 and 2008. This is a notable contribution to the field of NGO management and research. It also makes a unique contribution to reviews in the social sciences, as relatively few studies utilise the systematic methodology compared with reviews in the biological field. To the best of our knowledge, it is thus the first attempt to synthesize existing research knowledge on the performance of development NGOs utilising the methodology of systematic literature review.

However, this study has limitations that should be taken into consideration. The search criteria were restricted to journal articles in English that focused on the performance of development NGOs. The criteria thus excluded journal articles in other languages, other published materials and grey literature, and articles on NGO programme evaluations, NGO leadership and on NGOs in humanitarian and aid relief. These may have contained relevant data. Another area of potential difficulty was inclusion of all types of NGOs, as the NGO sector is heterogeneous operating from grassroots to international level. Using data from a wide variety of NGOs in diverse development fields eliminates the ability to control for variations in organisational settings. It also prevents generalisation of findings across all or any specific group of NGOs. Future studies may be done that make attempts to cluster NGOs to a closer homogenous group. Despite these methodological constraints, bias was reduced by conducting a systematic review of electronically available literature through adhering closely to a set of scientific methods explicitly aimed to limit error. These are discussed in the methodology section. Additionally, the review results are robust as large volumes of data were obtained, and results can be taken to indicate trends and key areas of future research.

5. Conclusions

Given that NGOs have positioned themselves as cutting-edge development organisations engaged in long-term multidimensional development at local and international level, which is likely to continue well into the future, this article argues that it is important to thoroughly understand factors influencing NGO performance. Analysis of the findings reveals that NGOs seem to make rational choices from three different points of view: first, to build and sustain organisational competence and reputation; second, to achieve developmental goals for their targeted beneficiaries; and third, to comply with contractual agreements with their donors. Depending on the position taken, evidence of both rational and irrational action emerges. Overall, evidence suggests that goal-driven NGOs may have commenced development interventions and made rational choices to maximise development utility for their targeted beneficiaries and survive as an organisation. However, underlying constraints and adverse unintended consequences render once rational choices seem irrational in the long term. Hence, NGOs do not necessarily conform to consistent rational behaviour.

Thus we posit that the continued relevance of NGOs, along with their improved performance, depends largely on their ability to clearly understand influencing factors and strategically manage each and every one. It is critical for NGOs to examine key players in the underlying processes, and rationally strategise on how to reshape these players. Additionally, there is need for NGOs to periodically examine if once rational decisions still hold.

It is evident that NGOs' activities are largely influenced by donors through the funding they provide. This is well put by the African proverb 'If you have your hand in another man's pocket, you must move when he moves', and the wise-saying 'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. Given the dominant role of donors, we posit that NGOs cannot always make rational decisions to enhance their performance in achieving development goals if these go against their donors' expectations. It is thus imperative that development performance policy be directed not just towards NGOs, but also towards institutional donors, governments and policy-makers. For instance, donors should support NGOs to make concerted effort to understand and intensively influence their external environment for the successful implementation of development interventions. Donors further need to support NGOs in shifting focus from donor-drivenness towards beneficiary-centred approaches. Failure to do so will perpetuate the existing situation whereby NGOs are required to reform, but fail to change, unless practices conform to the paradigms and expectations of their funding agencies.

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Chapter 3. Characteristics of development NGO performance research 1996-2008: A systematic review

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to study the characteristics of NGO performance research was hers. This was not part of the initial protocol, but arose from the wealth of quantitative data extracted in the above-mentioned systematic literature review. Roselyn analysed the data in SPSS and wrote the paper. A/Prof Lund provided the supervision, ensured findings were clearly stated, and paper written in the format required by the journal.

Current status

Initial version under review; submitted on 14th May 2011 to the *South African Journal of Science*. Editor's decision – to revise and submit for publication – was received on 11th April 2012. Updated manuscript, titled 'Characteristics of NGO performance research: Selective review of articles published in Anglo-Saxon academic journals 1996-2008' was submitted on 15th May 2012.

Abstract

Motivation: Globally, literature on the performance of development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) has increased. However, little is known regarding characteristics of the existing body of academic articles on factors influencing NGO performance.

Method: In a recent systematic review of academic research between 1996 and 2008 factors influencing NGO performance were investigated. From the 31 journal articles that met the inclusion criteria, this study extracted and examined the salient characteristics of NGO performance research in terms of: the number of publications; publication outlets; author affiliation; and study location, period, and methods.

Results: Findings showed a steady, though insignificant, increase in the number of articles. Articles were published in a wide array of journals. Data were mainly sought from NGO directors, programme staff and donors. Comparatively few studies collected data from beneficiaries. Studies were mainly conducted in developing countries, whilst most authors were affiliated to institutions in developed countries. Of the 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa only 3 were affiliated to an institution in Africa.

Conclusion: This study confirmed the continued need for increased research on factors influencing NGO performance. Increased beneficiary participation is required even in research, given the rhetoric of participatory development. Striking evidence further revealed the need to address the low number of published researchers in Africa, and to advocate for policy makers to intensively identify and nurture African based researchers in this field.

Key words: Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); NGO performance; academic research; research collaboration; systematic literature review

Introduction

Since the 1990s, the role of development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in international development has increased, along with massive interest and concern over NGO performance from NGO practitioners, governments, citizens, donors, policy makers and academics (Edwards and Hulme, 1995a; Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). While NGOs are not new, the growth of research on NGOs is relatively new (Lewis, 2006), with development NGOs making significant efforts to demonstrate their performance particularly due to stricter official aid requirements, and rising NGO desire to know what is being achieved for accountability, improvement and self-motivation (Fowler, 1996; Paton, 2003).

Scholars have called for more research on NGOs, cautioning that the trends in NGO performance are based on ideological grounds in the absence of empirical verification (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b); that inadequate research on NGO performance would cause this area of study to remain immature, with accurate and comprehensive data hard to come by thus adversely influencing funding decisions (Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Fowler, 1997; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Intensification of research on development NGO performance can be attributed to Edwards and Hulme (1995b) who, in the mid-1990s, collected ground breaking studies on NGO performance.

In a recent systematic review of journal articles published from 1996-2008, factors influencing development NGO performance were investigated; see chapter 2. However little is known regarding characteristics of the existing body of NGO performance literature. This study contributes to closing the gap by examining administrative data extracted from the articles that met the inclusion criteria. Special attention was paid to the number of publications, publication outlets, author affiliation, and study location, period, topics, and methods. Findings confirm the continued need for increased research in NGO performance, and inform future research and policy directions.

Methodology

Search strategy

The search strategy aimed to identify, appraise and summarise published papers that present empirical research findings on factors influencing development NGO

performance. The review followed the Cochrane Collaboration guidelines for undertaking extensive systematic literature reviews (Khan, *et al.*, 2001). It was conducted in various phases and involved a thorough search to identify relevant published studies, retrieve them and document the search process. Effort was made to ensure the process was comprehensive, precise, thorough and unbiased by adhering closely to a set of scientific methods explicitly aimed to limit systematic error or bias in reviewing the available publications (Khan, *et al.*, 2001; Mouton, 2001; Petticrew and Roberts, 2006).

The search strategy was highly interactive and a great deal of time was spent becoming familiar with and searching the literature. Periodic consultation was made with experienced information professional librarians at the University of Cape Town (UCT) on searching literature. The initial attempts did not produce the final strategy. The design progressed as knowledge was gained of the platforms, databases, key words, indexing and how text is structured.

Search methods

Between January 2007 and September 2009, searches were conducted through various database platforms including BiblioLine, CSA Illumina, EBSCO Host: Research Databases, Elsevier: Science Direct, Emerald, JSTOR: The Scholarly Journal Archive, ISI Web of Knowledge and ProQuest: Information and Learning. Thereafter, identifications were made through searching electronic databases including Academic Search Premier, Blackwell Synergy, Business Source Premier, Humanities International Complete, Igenta, PAIS, Science Direct, and Web of Science. The key search terms used included permutations of *NGO*, *NPO*, *development management*, *performance*, *effectiveness*, *accountability*, and *evaluation*.

Search of the internet was made through Google Scholar. Further searches were done of those journals from which articles were accessed. Once relevant publications were sourced, their reference lists (and references of references) were examined, and followed up, for further relevant articles. Contact was made with experts in the field who suggested additional sources.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria were defined as:

- Articles published between 1996 and 2008 in scholarly peer-reviewed journals;
- Written in English on development NGOs engaged in long-term development work anywhere in the world;
- Different categories of development NGOs (also referred to as Not-for Profit/ Nonprofit Organisations/ Civil Society Organisations/ Faith Based Organisations) operating at different levels such as International NGOs, Regional NGOs, National NGOs, Community Based Organisations, and Grassroots Organisations; and,
- Focused on the performance of development NGOs with empirical evidence or analysis including underlying facilitators and constraints.

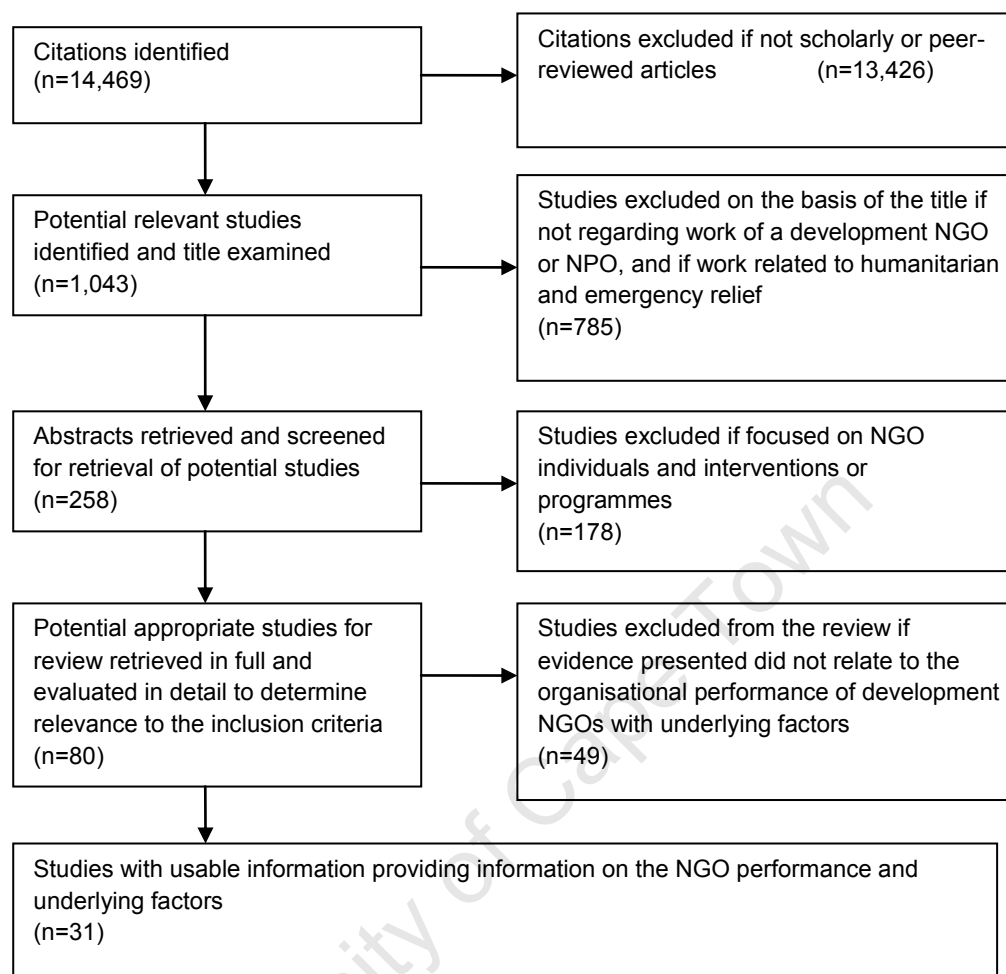
The exclusion criteria were defined as:

- Journal editorials and book reviews, books, reports, newspaper articles and other types of 'grey' literature;
- Papers on other types of organisations including public or private sector (corporate) organisations; and,
- Papers on NGOs engaged in humanitarian and emergency relief, and organisations that represent and advance the views of business interests and educational institutions, on NGO individuals or interventions, and on NGO theories, conceptual frameworks and models.

Appraisal system

In the search and selection process, a standardised explicit appraisal system was established to systematically accept articles so as to minimise the risk of error of judgment; see **Figure 3.1**.

Figure 3.1: Detailed quorum flowchart illustrating the inclusion and exclusion of studies from the systematic literature review



To reduce researcher bias, comments from anonymous reviewers were taken into consideration. The search found 14,469 citations. To start with, determination was made whether the citations were journal articles published between 1996 and 2008. At this point 13,426 records were rejected (92.79% of the total citations) as they were books, book chapters, organisational reports, Masters and Doctoral thesis/dissertations, conference papers, and research, occasional or working papers. Articles were further excluded if they were not scholarly or peer-reviewed articles or if they were editorials or introductory essays. Thereafter 1,043 titles were examined to ensure the studies related to development NGOs. A further 785 papers were excluded as they focused on public or private sector organisations engaged with NGOs in development work, or were related to NGOs in humanitarian and emergency relief rather than long-term development. These screenings left 258

potentially relevant articles, whose abstracts were retrieved and examined. An additional 178 studies were excluded as they focused on assessing NGO interventions and programmes or leadership. Then 80 relevant papers were selected, full versions obtained and evaluated in detail. Of these an additional 49 were excluded as they did not fully meet the inclusion criteria. Two sampled non-profit university and college foundations; 11 analysed the difficulties of assessing NGO performance, compared NGO work to other development players, and reported on the partnership and practices of donors working with NGOs; 14 reported on NGO theories, conceptual frameworks, models, NGO adaption of business management and evaluation tools; and, 22 examined the rise of NGOs over the years and their effects.

In summary, of the 1043 potential studies, a total of 1,012 (97.03%) articles were excluded as they did not report on factors influencing development NGO performance. It should be noted that the diversity of NGO typology is a complex, contested and controversial matter and not engaged with in this article. Hereafter, we use the term NGO as shorthand for development NGOs. The search resulted in the selection of only 31 articles which fully met the inclusion criteria.

Data extraction and synthesis

Hard copies of the 31 articles were obtained, studies carefully reviewed, summarised and systematically synthesised. A tabulated framework for quantitative and qualitative data extraction was designed to accurately extract (where available) relevant information and results. Administrative details were extracted including author, year and journal of publication, location of author affiliated institution, location of study, and period of data collection. As several articles did not explicitly provide information on the period of data collection, effort was made to contact the corresponding authors and information requested.

A grid was then developed in MS-Excel which was populated with the administrative data extracted from the studies. This grid was exported to SPSS, a statistical software package for data analysis, where variables were defined, coded and screened for as detailed and complete information as possible. Data were then cleaned by checking each variable for consistent and accurate data capture. Frequency analysis was mainly utilised to generate descriptive statistics (Pallant, 2007; Weathersby and Freyberg, 2008).

Results

A total of 31 articles were included in this review. The extracted administrative details from these studies are summarised in **Table 3.1**.

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Table 3.1: Description of studies from 1996 to 2008

#	Authors and publication year	Journal source	Author institutional affiliation location	Study location	Data collection period
1	Benjamin (2008)	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	1 USA	USA	February 2002 to August 2003
2	Gneiting (2008)	Journal of Development and Social Transformation	1 USA	USA	Unclear
3	Höhn (2008)	Political Perspectives	1 UK	Namibia	October to December 2006
4	O'Dwyer and Unerman (2008)	Accounting, Organizations and Society	1 Netherlands 1 UK	Ireland	May 2004 to March 2005
5	Carman (2007)	American Journal of Evaluation	1 USA	USA	February to May 2002, and May to July 2003
6	Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega (2007)	Evaluation	1 USA 1 Cameroon	Africa	Not stated
7	Dar (2007)	Journal of Health Management	1 UK	India	October 2003 to April 2004
8	Jung and Moon (2007)	Policy Studies Journal	2 South Korea	Korea	1999 and 2002
9	Nanavati (2007)	Journal of Health Management	1 India	India	1999 to 2001
10	Srinivasan (2007)	Journal of Health Management	1 India	India	January to August 2006
11	Barr and Fafchamps (2006)	Journal of Development Studies	2 UK	Uganda	2002
12	Bornstein (2006)	Development	1 South Africa and UK	South Africa and UK	Not stated
13	Goddard and Assad (2006)	Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal	1 UK 1 Tanzania	Tanzania	Not stated
14	Kalb (2006)	Texas International Law Journal	1 USA	Developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America	Not stated
15	Kilby (2006)	World Development	1 Australia	India	2001 - 2002
16	Barr, Fafchamps and Owens (2005)	World Development	3 UK	Uganda	2002
17	Bebbington (2005)	World Development	1 UK	Netherlands Peru	2000 to 2002
18	Ebrahim (2005)	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	1 USA	Not stated	Not stated
19	Fruttero and Gauri (2005)	Journal of Development Studies	2 USA	Bangladesh	1995-96 and 2000
20	Kegeles, Rebchook, and Tebbetts (2005)	AIDS Education and Prevention	3 USA	USA	Not stated
21	Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan (2004)	Development in Practice	3 Australia	India and Sri Lanka	2000 to 2001
22	Lewis and Madon (2004)	The Information Society	2 UK	Bangladesh	2001
23	Bornstein (2003)	Public Administration and Development	1 South Africa and Canada	South Africa	2001 - 2002
24	Ebrahim (2003)	World Development	1 USA	Not stated	Not stated
25	Khan (2003)	Public Management Review	1 Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Not stated
26	Porter (2003)	Progress in Development Studies	1 UK	Ghana	1999 - 2001
27	Ebrahim (2002)	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	1 USA	India	1995 - 1997
28	Mebratu (2002)	Development in Practice	1 UK	Ethiopia and UK	Unclear
29	Roche (2000)	Development in Practice	1 UK	Ghana, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, El Salvador and UK	1994-1995
30	Edwards (1999)	World Development	1 USA	India Bangladesh	No-data
31	Wallace (1997)	Review of African Political Economy	1 UK	UK	No-data

Journals

The 31 articles were published in 20 different scholarly or peer-reviewed journals, as **Table 3.2** shows. The ratio of articles to journals was 1:1.55.

Table 3.2: Journal analysis by number

Journal	n=31	%
Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal	1	3.23
Accounting, Organizations and Society	1	3.23
AIDS Education and Prevention	1	3.23
American Journal of Evaluation	1	3.23
Development	1	3.23
Development in Practice	3	9.68
Evaluation	1	3.23
Journal of Development and Social Transformation	1	3.23
Journal of Development Studies	2	6.45
Journal of Health Management	3	9.68
Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	3	9.68
Political Perspectives	1	3.23
Progress in Development Studies	1	3.23
Public Administration and Development	1	3.23
Public Management Review	1	3.23
Review of African Political Economy	1	3.23
Texas International Law Journal	1	3.23
The Information Society	1	3.23
The Policy Studies Journal	1	3.23
World Development	5	16.13

The most frequently utilised journal was World Development with 5 articles (Edwards, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Bebbington, 2005; Kilby, 2006). This is followed by Development in Practice (Roche, 2000; Mebrahtu, 2002; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004), Journal of Health Management (Dar, 2007; Nanavati, 2007; Srinivasan, 2007), and Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly (Ebrahim, 2002; Ebrahim, 2005; Benjamin, 2008) all with 3 articles each. Journal of Development Studies had 2 articles (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). The least frequently utilised journals, with only one article each, were Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal (Goddard and Assad, 2006), Accounting, Organizations and Society (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008), AIDS Education and Prevention (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), American Journal of Evaluation (Carman, 2007), Development (Bornstein, 2006), Evaluation (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007), Journal of Development and Social Transformation (Gneiting, 2008), Political Perspectives (Höhn, 2008), Policy Studies

Journal (Jung and Moon, 2007), Progress in Development Studies (Porter, 2003), Public Administration and Development (Bornstein, 2003), Public Management Review (Khan, 2003), Review of African Political Economy (Wallace, 1997), Texas International Law Journal (Kalb, 2006), and The Information Society (Lewis and Madon, 2004).

The 20 journals, in which the 31 articles were published, can be clustered into six categories as **Table 3.3** presents.

Table 3.3: Journal analysis by cluster and publication year

Journal cluster	1996-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008	n = 31	%
Development studies	2	7	9	18	58.06%
Evaluation and Accountability			4	4	12.90%
Health			4	4	12.90%
Information Technology		1		1	3.23%
Law			1	1	3.23%
Political	1		2	3	9.68%

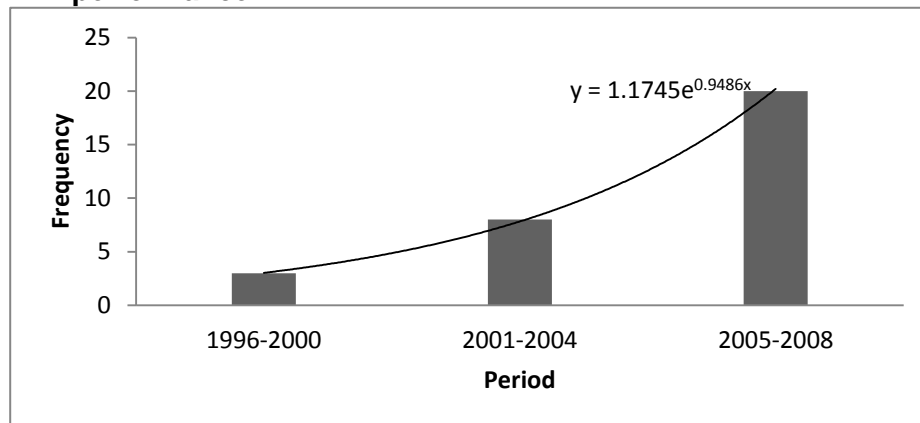
The most preferred were development studies journals with over half of the papers. There was medium preference for evaluation and accountability and health journals. The least preferred were political, information technology and law journals.

The journal cluster analysis by year shows that development studies journals have been utilised consistently over the years, with some growth since 2001. Evaluation and accountability journals have only been utilised since 2005, and the same trend is seen with the health journals.

Year of publication

Over the years, there has been a steady increase in the number of academic articles analysing factors influencing NGO performance; see **Figure 3.2**.

Figure 3.2: Number of articles 1996-2008 on factors influencing NGO performance



The cumulative analysis shows that only 3 articles were published between 1996 and 2000, which increased to a total of 11 articles by 2004 and to 31 articles by 2008. Most studies (20) were published between 2005 and 2008.

Author affiliation

The 31 articles were written by a total of 38 authors. In each article, authors reported their institutional affiliation at the time of publication. These were categorised according to the country of location. Hereafter, this is referred to as author location and the resulting frequency is summarised in column 2 of **Table 3.4**.

Table 3.4: Frequency of locations of authors and studies

Country	Author location (n* = 45)	Study location (n* = 40)
Australia	4	-
Bangladesh	1	5
Cameroon	1	-
Canada	1	-
El Salvador	-	1
Ethiopia	-	1
Ghana	-	2
India	2	8
Ireland	-	1
Kenya	-	1
Namibia	-	1
Netherlands	1	1
Pakistan	-	1
Peru	-	1
South Africa	2	2
South Korea	2	1
Sri Lanka	-	1
Tanzania	1	1
Uganda	-	3
United Kingdom	16	4
United States of America	14	4
Zimbabwe	-	1

* The reported frequency is higher than the number of articles as: some articles have more than one author; or some authors are affiliated to institutions in more than one country; or some studies were conducted in more than one country.

Note: Study locations reported as Africa, developing countries and those not stated have been omitted from this table.

The UK and USA were the most frequently reported author location, with nearly two-thirds of the total frequency. Overall, the data show that there is more than 4 times the chance that an author location is in a developed country, compared to a developing country.

Study location

Details of study location were similarly extracted as reported in each article. As shown in column 3 of **Table 3.4**, the most frequently reported explicit study location was India. Other preferred study locations were Bangladesh, UK, USA and Uganda.

Overall, the majority of the studies were conducted in developing countries. There is thus more than 3 times the chance that a study location is a developing country compared to a developed country. Of the studies conducted in developing countries,

half were conducted in Asia, slightly under half in Africa and the remainder in Latin America.

Author location compared to study location

We then compared our findings of the study location with the author location to identify any relationship. The reported locations for each were categorised either as developed country, developing country or both.

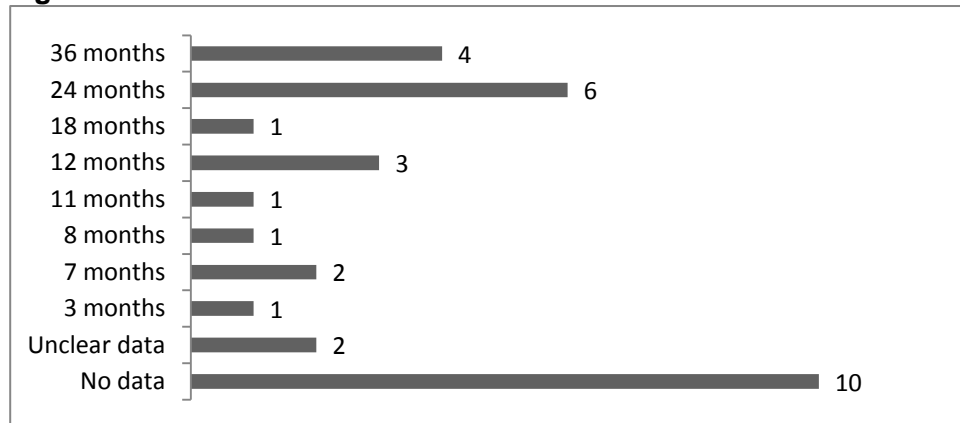
Of the 31 studies, 23 were written by authors in developed countries, 4 in developing countries and 4 in both developed and developing countries. Of the 31 studies, 6 were located in developed countries, 19 in developing countries and 6 in both developed and developing countries.

Of the 19 studies located in developing countries, 12 were written by authors in developed countries, and the remaining 7 by authors in both developed and developing countries. Additionally, of the 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa, less than a quarter, i.e. only 3, were affiliated to an institution in Africa. In contrast, the 6 studies located in developed countries were all authored by researchers in developed countries.

Study period

As mentioned in the methodology section, 18 out of 31 articles did not explicitly provide information on the period of data collection. In 2009, effort was made to contact the study authors for further information. Response was received from 6 authors; hence data for 12 studies were unavailable. As **Figure 3.3** shows, studies with no data and unclear data on the period of data collection constitute more than a third of the total studies.

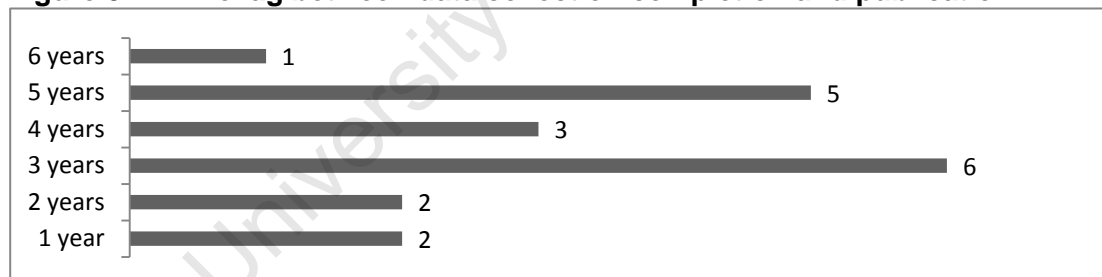
Figure 3.3: Period of data collection



Of the 19 articles with available information, the data collection period ranged from 3 months to 36 months. Most of the studies collected data for 1 year and more.

Further analysis was made between the year of completion of data collection and the year an article was published; see **Figure 3.4**.

Figure 3.4: Time lag between data collection completion and publication

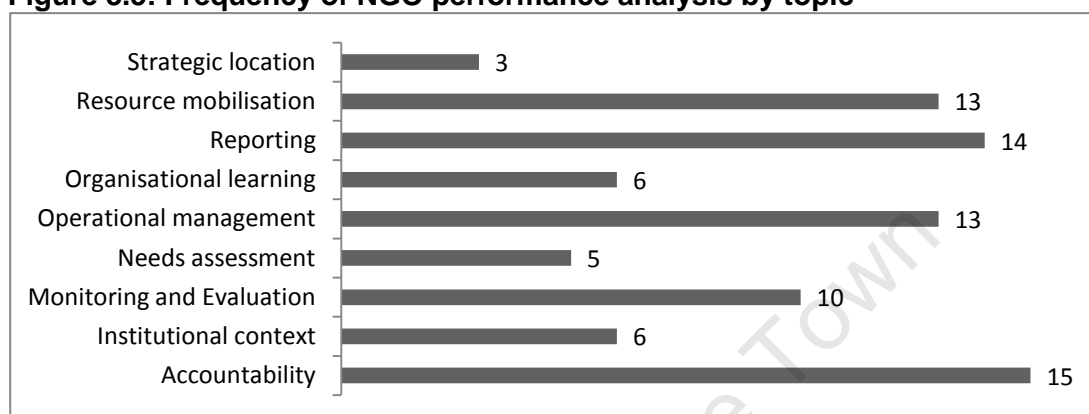


Available information from 19 articles reveals that the time lag ranges between 1 and 6 years. The majority of the studies (15) experienced a time lag of 3 and more years, with only 4 studies published within 2 years of the completion of data collection.

Study topics

The topics examined in each study were further extracted and analysed. Nine main categories of topics were distinguished from the 31 studies. **Figure 3.5** shows the reported frequency.

Figure 3.5: Frequency of NGO performance analysis by topic



The most frequently mentioned topics were accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation and operational management. The least examined were strategic location, needs assessment, institutional context and organisational learning.

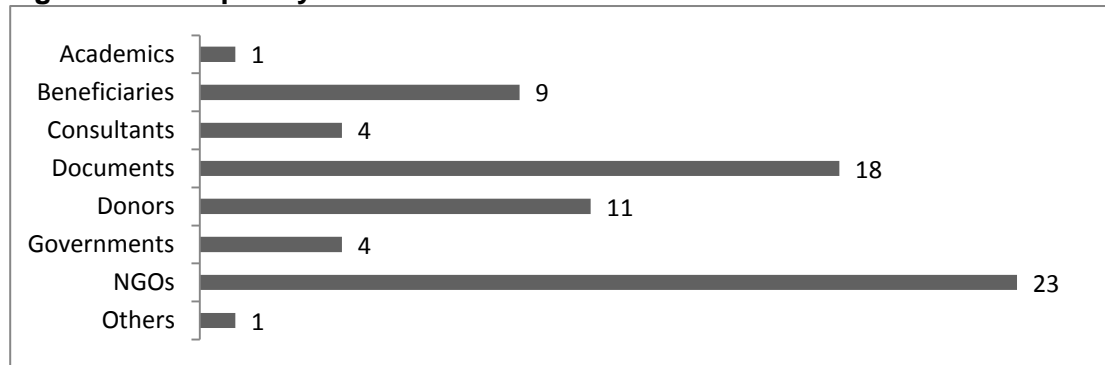
Study methods

Of the 31 studies, the majority reported primary data (26), whilst only a few examined secondary data. The studies utilised both qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and workshops, and quantitative methods particularly questionnaire surveys. A few studies utilised mixed methods, and combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Similar variation is observed in the sample size. This ranged from examination of 1 organisation to nation-wide surveys of NGOs.

Sources of information

Figure 3.6 shows the frequency with which each source of data were reported.

Figure 3.6: Frequency of sources of data



The most frequently preferred source of data were NGO staff, followed by documents and records, and donor agencies. The least utilised were beneficiaries, consultants (included technical assistance providers, accounting bodies and external experts), governments, academics and others (included labour organisations and press).

Discussion

The systematic review, on which this paper is based, restricted its focus on literature that reported on factors influencing NGO performance. This paper has presented the research characteristics of articles included in the review.

The systematic search found only 31 articles. This number is small in comparison with the volume (14,469) of citations on NGOs, and large number (1,012) of academic articles on other subject matters on NGOs. The studies included in this review correspond to a mere 0.21% and 3.06% of each of these groups respectively. Thus the systematic search provides evidence that a significantly large volume of publications on NGOs exists, but are contained in books, organisational reports, newspaper and newsletter articles, and various types of grey literature. It further shows that despite the large growth of interest in NGOs and the large body of publications on NGOs, in contracts there is an insignificant number of academic peer-reviewed journal articles on factors influencing NGO performance. These findings substantiate previous arguments that the organisation and management of NGOs have received relatively little attention from researchers (Lewis, 2007), the subject of NGOs has not yet entered the academic mainstream and hence the overall state of knowledge remains somewhat underdeveloped (Lewis, 2006). This provides

evidence that further rigorous academic research is required in order to deepen our understanding of NGO performance.

This status may be attributed to several factors. First, the fields of NGO management and research are relatively new (Lewis, 2007), and measuring NGO performance, rather than of projects or programmes they implement, continues to be relatively underdeveloped. (Fowler, 1996) Second, many scholars indicate that little research has been published, numerous organisational reviews are kept confidential, biases remain towards publishing positive results, with failures concealed due to various sensitivities and fears particularly revocation of funding, along with biases towards undertaking reviews and publishing results from well resourced organisations (Cassen, 1986; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Third, data from this study provides evidence that the research process is lengthy and intensive. One proxy indicator is the long period of data collection, for most took more than a year, with some up to 3 years. However, these figures need to be treated with caution, as the duration is a product of the ways studies reported the period of data collection and some were not explicit. For instance, a study in 2000 to 2002 may not have necessarily taken 3 years. Another proxy is the time lags between completion of data collection and publication of an article, as majority of the articles have a time lag of 3 or more years. This may suggest that data capture, analysis, verification, writing, peer-review and acceptance of an article for publication are extremely intensive time consuming processes. Or it may suggest that authors endeavour to publish their work long after studies are completed. It may further be that some authors are able to generate multiple articles from the same data, and a unique new line of argument is only concretised long after data has been collected. Nonetheless, this is not atypical of research work in other areas, which culminates in the publication of a journal article.

The publication time analysis provides evidence that since 1996 there has been a steady increase in the number of academic publications on factors influencing NGO performance. The sharpest increase observed was from 2005-2008, with the highest yearly intensity observed in 2007. This may indicate a growing awareness of the need to understand factors influencing NGO performance.

Interest in factors influencing NGO performance has found home in a wide array of journals. The ratio of articles to journals is a mere 1:1.55, providing evidence that there is no exceptionally preferred publication outlet. Articles were not only published

in development studies journals, but also in other types of journals particularly evaluation and accountability, health and political journals. This is consistent with sentiments by Edwards and Fowler (2002) that NGO literature is widely dispersed and locating it requires long and hard searches, as was the experience of the researcher in this study. It may further confirm that NGO performance is a multi-disciplinary field continually drawing ideas and techniques from other fields (Lewis, 2007), particularly from international development, management, health, politics and law. Whilst it is indeed challenging to find articles on NGO performance, we put forward that a group of journals publishing on NGOs may allow for diversity and stimulate debate.

Location analysis by author and by study reveals that there is an international scope in researching NGO performance. Authors were located and the studies conducted in both developing and developed countries covering all the continents of Africa, Asia, Australia and Oceania, Europe, North America, and South America. The comparatively few studies in Latin America may be attributed to the fact that only English language publications were included in this study, whilst Latin American countries mostly publish in Spanish and Portuguese.

Further analysis, however, reveals that most studies were undertaken by researchers and academics affiliated to institutions in developed countries at the time of publication. In contrast, the majority of studies examined NGOs in developing countries. Deeper author and study location analysis provides evidence that most studies in developing countries were conducted by researchers in developed countries, whilst all studies in developed countries were conducted by researchers in developed countries. Whilst there is rhetoric of 'North-South' and even 'South-South' collaboration and participation in international development (Wallace and Chapman, 2003; Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005; Theron, 2008), this seems not to have infiltrated into research on understanding NGO performance.

This striking finding raises further questions. The first is whether this trend could be attributed to low capacity of scholars in developing countries or if they are particularly interested in NGO performance studies. It may suggest that institutions in developed countries have more established resources, reputation and capacities than institutions in developing countries to examine NGO performance, and hence scholars interested in this field are affiliated with these institutions. According to

Mishra *et al* (2005), India has many institutions to prepare management professionals in the private corporate sector, but none in the NGO sector, particularly in development management hence scholarship in development management of NGOs has lagged far behind practice. Another question is whether there is a trend of 'Northern' institutions examining 'Southern' institutions, particularly as large amounts of development funding originate from 'Northern' countries. Wallace and Chapman (2003) argue that while UK NGOs and donors state commitment to downward accountability and promotion of local ownership and control of development, the policies and procedures of funding disbursement and accounting ensures upward accountability dominates, which is part of a wider problem of donor domination of recipients. Furthermore, according to Muchungunzi and Milne (1995) the 'South' always has to account to the 'North' and not vice versa, whilst donor money and expertise is more valued than 'South' labour and expertise. This finding may therefore be a reflection of the practice of donors commissioning institutions in the 'North' to assess development partners in the 'South'. Aid agencies in developed countries appear to have established a practice of commissioning organisations and universities in developed countries to undertake assessments of aid recipients and partners in developing countries. These questions may be the subject of future research and policy review.

This review further provides evidence that several topics were examined in understanding NGO performance. Nine categories of assessing NGO performance were distinguished from the 31 articles. The most commonly examined topics were accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation, operational management, and monitoring and evaluation. Less commonly examined topics were organisational learning, institutional context, needs assessment and strategic location.

However, this finding needs to be interpreted with caution, as the categories of topics identified, and the frequency with which they were reported are products of the way studies defined topics. For instance, some studies used the term 'governance' while discussing 'accountability' issues. Further, there seems to be an overlap between various practices as some topics were examined under the banner of others. Most commonly, accountability emerged as an umbrella term that incorporates aspects of governance, financial reporting, monitoring and evaluation. Additionally, organisational learning involves the processes of monitoring, evaluation and reflection whereby lessons are learnt from experiences. This reflects an overlap and

interconnection between the different organisational processes and organisational performance assessment processes. It further shows that the universe of organisational performance is multi-dimensional and relevant to a broad range of management themes.

Nonetheless, there is the need to further explore relatively new topics. First, attention must be paid particularly to the institutional context and influencing the external environment. This is also in line with Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) sentiments that NGOs simultaneously play the roles of service delivery and advocacy (policy influencing or formation) and these roles must not be separated, as donors tend to do. NGOs must pay attention to representing beneficiaries and their communities while standing their ground and resist donor-drivenness be it from donor agencies, government or corporate sponsors. Second, NGO strategic location studies needs attention. This will provide evidence for policy effectiveness, and strategically located interventions will improve beneficiaries' access to essential resources (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a).

Whilst detail of the period of data collection is a usual requirement in research, less than half (13 out of 31) of the studies in this review explicitly met this requirement. Some studies did not discuss the methods used. Future research in the area of understanding NGO performance would benefit from an explicitly reported methodology section.

Analysis of the sources of data distinguished 8 categories, reflecting the trend that researchers gather data from various sources. This confirms that NGO practitioners, international development agencies, institutional donors, governments, technical assistance providers, academics and beneficiaries are involved in varying magnitudes in assessing NGO performance. However, further analysis shows a marked preference towards gathering data from NGO staff, particularly from senior- and middle-level managers including directors/executives, programme coordinators and programme staff. Few studies endeavoured to source information from NGO field workers.

While there is some seeking of data from beneficiaries, this is comparatively small. This may suggest that the rhetoric of beneficiary participation and engagement seems not to have been effectively implemented in research projects, and may be a

proxy reflection of the reality in intervention practices. Of the two forms of participation – in implementation and in decision-making – beneficiaries are often involved in implementing activities based on decisions taken in other fora. Beneficiaries are important stakeholders who should be involved from the design to evaluation, and back again to reformulation of development interventions (Szporluk, 2009). Furthermore, incorporating their voices into studies generates data that would otherwise be overlooked and can make the realities and experiences of beneficiaries count more (Chambers, 2009), for beneficiaries know what is helpful and what is not (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004).

Finally, we turn to focus on the African continent. Strikingly only 3 of 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa were affiliated to an institution in Africa; namely in Cameroon, South Africa and Tanzania. These 3 represent less than a tenth of all the 38 authors of the 31 articles. This evidence is in line with findings of a research performance assessment at a university in South Africa that the social sciences were one of the weakest (Pouris, 2006). It reveals the need to address the low number of published researchers in Africa. It further evokes the argument for the African Renaissance paradigm, which calls for African people and nations to overcome the current challenges confronting Africa (Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia, 2010), echoing messages by African leaders including Kwame Nkrumah, Steve Biko, Mwai Kibaki and Thabo Mbeki. As a form of building Africa by Africans, there is crucial need to nurture African researchers. Along with this, the sparse partnership with African based researchers in the field of NGO performance research should be addressed, as there are strengths in research collaborations (Sooryamoorthy, 2010).

Strengths and limitations

This study makes a unique contribution to the social sciences, as relatively few systematic reviews have been employed as a methodology in social science research, compared to the biological field. It makes a contribution to research in NGO performance and development studies, and provides information on journals that publish articles on understanding NGO performance. It further provides crucial evidence that policy makers and donors require to inform future funding decisions.

There are however limitations that should be taken into consideration. The review restricted its search to online academic articles, written in English, specifically focused on factors influencing NGO performance. The search criteria thus excluded journal articles in other languages, in non-electronic journals, and other published and 'grey' literature. These publications possibly contain relevant data that may have made significant contribution.

Conclusions

This study has detailed a systematic literature review of an international scope, and explored the salient characteristics of NGO performance research. It has demonstrated that understanding NGO performance is a multi-faceted arena in which many issues are explored by academics, NGO practitioners, donors, governments and policy makers. Notwithstanding the modest number of studies that fully met the inclusion criteria, emergent evidence supports three key conclusions and recommendations with research, practice and policy implications.

First, from 1996-2008 there has been steady, though insignificant, growth in the number of journal articles investigating factors influencing NGO performance. We join other scholars and call for increased research on NGO performance. Future studies should explicitly examine and report on facilitating and constraining factors, in order to increase learning from practice, to deepen our understanding in this field, to facilitate more robust conclusions to be made, and to inform or challenge policy decisions. These would benefit from an explicit and more robust methodology section, to enhance further meta-analysis and comparison studies.

Second, most studies gather information from a wide range of sources, with comparatively minimal seeking of beneficiaries' perspectives. Similarly, few studies assessed beneficiary needs as a topic in understanding NGO performance. This suggests the need not only to intensify efforts to understand beneficiary needs, but also to gather organisational performance assessment information from beneficiaries.

Finally, this study found plausible evidence that there is an insignificant number of published researchers based in Africa in the field of NGO performance assessment. Additionally, little academic research on NGO performance is undertaken in

partnership with researchers in Africa. This reveals the need to advocate for policy-makers in academic, donor, government and development institutions to intensively identify, encourage, support and nurture researchers in Africa in the field of development and performance management.

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University of Cape Town

Chapter 4. Location of development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to study the location of NGO offices and service sites was hers. This study emerged from the wealth of data collected during the mapping of NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people. The mapping was necessary as it identified a data-set of 93 NGOs and ensured a comprehensive listing before sampling was done. This study proved to be highly valuable as NGO location is an emerging field of study in NGO performance, and crucial findings with policy implications emerged. Data were sought and extracted from key databases, and where there were gaps, Roselyn searched the NGO websites and/or contacted NGOs for further information. Data were populated into an MS Excel spreadsheet and then imported into SPSS for analysis. Guidance with statistical analysis was sought from Victor Katoma, a Doctoral Researcher at the UCT Graduate School of Business. Roselyn wrote the paper and Prof Flisher provided the supervision, ensured that the findings were statistically sound, clearly stated, and paper written in the format required by the journal.

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Abstract

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have been crucial players in HIV and AIDS from the onset of the epidemic in South Africa. We examined development NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole District of the Western Cape Province, with a view to analyse the location of their offices and service sites in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates. The dataset were made up of 93 NGOs identified between October 2006 and August 2007. Whilst our results show that an increasing number of NGOs provide services to young people, thus suggesting a strategic response since young people bear the brunt of new HIV infections, the sheer numbers of NGOs do not translate into significant targeting of either offices or service sites within higher HIV prevalence areas. Thus NGO location is not determined by HIV prevalence. We argue that these findings must be considered by development practitioners, donors, planners and policy makers, in order to realign and intensify interventions in communities of most need. Moreover, there must be explicit acknowledgement of the importance of location and the utilisation of HIV prevalence rates as a strategic intent for service delivery in order to turn the HIV and AIDS tide at a faster rate.

Keywords

Non-governmental organisations, development, strategic location, HIV and AIDS, young people, South Africa

Introduction

International literature confirms that a growing number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are engaged in development work (Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Lewis, 1998; Ebrahim, 2005). Such development NGOs are increasingly recognised as important institutions in world affairs - players in the formulation, design and application of development strategies, along with disbursing aid (Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Goddard and Assad, 2006). This is premised on various notions, including that NGOs provide better targeted service as they are 'closer to the people' than governments and official aid agencies (Koch, *et al.*, 2008); that NGOs ensure donor aid reaches the poor and render it more effective (Nunnenkamp, Weingarth and Weisser, 2008); that NGOs provide services that business and government sectors are unable or unwilling or failing to provide (Lewis, 1998; Lewis and Madon, 2004; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006); and that NGOs offer space for civil society to come together, participate in their society, lobby, advocate and be heard on important issues that affect them (Coates and David, 2002; Ringsing and Leeuwis, 2008). However, many scholars have cautioned that these grounds are based on ideological assumptions in the absence of empirical verification (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006).

Despite the growing number of development NGOs and the increasing recognition of the role they play, and despite NGO literature indicating that the location of NGOs is crucial, academic research on the geographical choice of NGOs remains undeveloped (Koch, 2007). The few published studies have analysed country-specific location across various development issues, with special attention to countries like Bangladesh (Gauri and Fruttero, 2003; Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Gauri and Galef, 2005). Others include Mexico (Campion, 2002), Uganda (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006) and Kenya (Brass, 2009). There is, however, slightly more in the literature regarding the allocation of aid both in-country and across-countries (see, for example, Jung and Moon, 2007; Koch, 2007; Koch, *et al.*, 2008; Nunnenkamp, Weingarth and Weisser, 2008). Efforts to locate any publications that examined the location choices of NGOs in a specific development agenda, either in South Africa or elsewhere proved fruitless. Specifically, little is known about where development NGOs locate their offices and service sites, and how well targeted the locations are with regard to specific development issues.

Importance of identifying development NGO location

The importance of understanding the location issues of development NGOs is well documented in development literature. According to Fruttero and Gauri (2005), such understanding provides evidence for policy effectiveness, as donors and policy makers need to ascertain the claim by NGOs that they reach the neediest, and hence represent valuable partners in successful development. In addition, it assists donors, government departments and other funding agencies to specify better contracts with NGOs, which is vital for success in development work (Fowler, 1998).

Understanding NGO location significantly contributes towards increasing knowledge of the context within which development agencies operate (Thomas, 1996). Patterns and trends provide crucial information on areas of over - or under-coverage, reflecting over - or under-concentration and delivery. This is vital, as access to resources is essential for effective development (Allen and Thomas, 2000). The tendency to cluster facilities in one area results in excess capacity, at the cost of positioning in other areas of equal or greater need, which exacerbates their lack of access to resources (Eyben, *et al.*, 2008), therefore resulting in overall under-utilisation of potential services (World Bank, 2003). This information is crucial for achieving the strategic intents of NGOs, as more efficiency and effectiveness is increasingly required (Lewis, 2003).

Furthermore, knowledge of NGO location is important, as it facilitates identification of potential partners in order to foster strategic partnerships and relationships. There are a variety of agencies which participate in development, whilst no individual organisation has access to all the resources required for development (Thomas, 1996; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000).

Moreover, NGO location information provides development practitioners, planners and governments with necessary data to develop clear policies and guidelines on strategic locations. This evidence-based knowledge is crucial for informing, dialoguing and influencing policy makers by putting a compelling case before those who may be fixed in their positions (Court, Hovland and Young, 2005; Thomas and Mohan, 2007).

South Africa

Although academic research on development NGOs in South Africa is limited, emerging reports indicate that development NGOs are growing in numbers (Williams, *et al.*, 2001), and play a critical role in the health, educational and social welfare sectors. However, Taylor (2007:1) notes that there is inadequate appreciation of NGOs, arguing that "...instead of continuing to be supported, they (NGOs) have been depleted. NGOs have been used to manage the people's participation in the change, to write the new policies, to contribute skilled people to the new leadership of state and business, and now, increasingly, to deliver services" to the detriment of NGOs influencing policy and building the democracy of South Africa.

As is similar in many developing countries, development NGOs in South Africa have responded from the onset of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and play two main roles: to research, develop and deliver services, and to advocate and influence policy (Rau, 2007; AIDS Foundation South Africa, 2009; AVERT, 2009; SANGONeT, 2009). The increasing recognition of the important role played by development NGOs is demonstrated by the partnerships formed between them and various stakeholders. In the Western Cape Province, the provincial departments of education and health have formed a partnership with development NGOs to roll out a Peer Education programme in high schools (see, for example, Flisher, *et al.*, 2005). This programme has existed since 2001, and is currently implemented by eight NGOs in 100 selected high schools apparently in areas with the highest HIV prevalence in the province (Western Cape Provincial Department of Health, 2009).

The importance of development NGOs in HIV and AIDS was given momentum by the rise of AIDS denialism in South Africa, particularly during the second post-apartheid government. Denialism was characterised by national leaders remaining silent on, or dismissive of the magnitude of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and reluctance to take effective action, as demonstrated by political statements that contradicted policy, which resulted in growing disenchantment with the state (Kareithi, 2004; Rau, 2007). The emergence of development NGOs as important players in the HIV and AIDS field was further promoted by NGOs having an ongoing culture of political activism that started during the apartheid era, and policy changes under the new democracy that enabled the growth of NGOs. As a result, a large part of the responsibility of

dealing with HIV and AIDS has continued to fall on the NGO sector over the years (Williams, *et al.*, 2001).

South Africa is a good case study on the location of NGOs in the agenda to fight HIV and AIDS. This is essentially due to the magnitude of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and to the key role NGOs play in addressing HIV and AIDS. South Africa has emerged as ground zero for the HIV and AIDS epidemic, as it has the highest number of people with HIV and AIDS in any country in the world, with approximately 5.7 million people having been infected with HIV by 2007, which is reported to have decreased to 5.2 million people by 2008 (Republic of South Africa, 2008; UNAIDS, 2008; AVERT, 2009; Rohleder, *et al.*, 2009; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009). It is now no longer under debate that HIV and AIDS represent a fundamental crisis. For instance there are increasing challenges to make AIDS treatment widely available. By 2007, for every one person on anti-retroviral therapy (ART) there were 16 new HIV infections (Republic of South Africa, 2008).

The sharpest increase in HIV infection is among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), there are approximately 192,000 new infections per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). The most recent reports show promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009).

The second reason why South Africa is a good case study is the proliferation of a large number of different types of NGOs. NGOs concerned with HIV and AIDS began to emerge in the late 1980s, and by 1997 there were over 600 such NGOs (Williams, *et al.*, 2001). The number includes NGOs that provide a wide range of services to young people aged 10-24 years (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b).

Therefore, a study of the location of NGOs in HIV and AIDS is an important undertaking. The question is: Given that NGOs are key players in fighting the HIV and AIDS epidemic in South Africa, how well targeted are their location choices? The results of this study should significantly contribute to bridging an empirical research gap, and are also crucial in informing NGO practitioners, planners, policy makers, donors and governments. This study is unique in that to the best of our knowledge, it

is the first of its kind to have ventured to examine the location of development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people.

Although the Western Cape province has the lowest HIV prevalence rate in South Africa, there is wide variation in the HIV prevalence across districts, with the highest prevalence observed in the Cape Metropole district (Shaikh, *et al.*, 2006). Hence, the geographical area for study was narrowed down to the Cape Metropole. In this area-level analysis, we evaluate whether the related indicator of need, in this case HIV prevalence rates per health sub-districts, have a significant impact on the location of NGO offices and service sites.

Methodology

The methodology consisted of several phases. In the first phase, attempts to obtain information on NGOs from provincial government departments revealed an absence of comprehensive information, as government officials only keep details of NGOs which they work with and/or fund¹. Online NGO and HIV and AIDS databases were thus our main sources of information. There are several databases that provide information on NGOs, particularly regarding contact details. General databases had insufficient detail on the nature of services provided by an organisation; the HIV and AIDS-related databases proved to have more detailed information. Nonetheless, we did not find any one database that comprehensively provided all the information required for this study. Therefore we gathered both secondary and primary data.

To start with, we extracted secondary data from key highly reputable databases. These were:

- NACOSA Western Cape Networking AIDS Community of South Africa (www.wc-nacosa.co.za);
- PRODDER, a Development Information Portal for NGOs in South Africa (www.prodเดอร์.org.za);
- AIDSbuzz Together Making Positive Connections, National Directory of Organizations (www.aidsbuzz.org);

¹ Personal communication with officials of the Western Cape Provincial Departments of Health and Education between March and July 2007.

- HIVAN Centre for HIV and AIDS Networking and HIV911 helpline² (www.hivan.org.za);
- AIDS Resource Centre with ASK Aids Survival Kit (www.askaidsmap.org.za);

The strategy of utilising more than one database proved to be most successful in availing a more comprehensive list and details of a large number of NGOs. Data were sought between 7th October 2006 and 31st July 2007. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were defined as:

- Any type of development NGO (also referred to as Not-for Profit/ Nonprofit Organisation/ Civil Society Organisation/ Faith Based Organisation) operating at different levels such as International NGOs, Regional NGOs, National NGOs, Community Based Organisations, and Grassroots Organisations - thus Government departments, schools, universities, hospitals, clinics, and private organisations were excluded;
- NGOs providing services to young people aged 10 to 24 years;
- NGOs providing any form of HIV and AIDS services; thus NGOs providing other types of development interventions were excluded;
- NGOs located within the metropolitan area of Cape Town.

The key search words were “NGO”, “NPO”, “HIV/AIDS”, “young people”, “youth” and “Cape Town”.

A ‘Typology - Data Collection Form’ was developed to guide the systematic and comprehensive collection of information. Various aspects were sought, and those relevant for this paper included: year of commencing provision of HIV and AIDS services to young people; geographical location of head office, and the geographical location of areas of service provision.

As there were several gaps in the information obtained from the databases, we further searched the NGO websites to extract more data. In several cases NGOs were contacted by telephone and/or through email for further information.

In South Africa, as in other countries, many NGOs working in the development field have expanded their existing programmes to address HIV and AIDS as well; a

² When the helpline was hosted by Cornerstone Christian College in Cape Town, the first author volunteered in setting up the HIV911 project.

smaller number of NGOs have been established specifically as HIV and AIDS development NGOs. Therefore the question we posed was the year in which the NGOs commenced providing HIV and AIDS services to young people, rather than the year of registration. In addition, as literature shows that NGOs concerned with HIV and AIDS began to emerge in the late 1980s, we utilised 1985 as a starting point and clustered the analysis in five-year intervals.

In the second phase of data collection, we refined the geographical coverage of the survey. The Western Cape Province has six districts, one of them being the Cape Metropole or City of Cape Town. Several years ago, the Cape Metropole district had six health sub-districts but the number was later increased to 11. Over the past couple of years, re-organisation of local and provincial government led to changes of designations and terms within the Western Cape Province³. The Cape Metropole district is now sub-divided into eight health sub-districts.

After intensive consideration, we finally based the geographical coverage of this area-level analysis of the Cape Metropole district on the 11 health sub-district areas, namely Blaauwberg, Cape Town Central, Greater Athlone, Helderberg, Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu/Nyanga, Oostenberg, South Peninsula, Tygerberg Eastern and Tygerberg Western. This was not only due to time and funding constraints, but more so due to the fact that we managed to obtain HIV prevalence data from the Provincial Department of Health from 2001 to 2006 based on these 11 areas; HIV prevalence data pertaining to the current eight areas was only available for 2005 and 2006. The HIV prevalence data by area over a period of time was essential for our analysis as discussed below. Moreover, re-drawing of some boundaries of localities would have led to the loss of crucial data during analysis. This was particularly evident with the incorporation of Cape Town Central into Western, which was formerly largely part of Blaauwberg, and the incorporation of Gugulethu/Nyanga into Southern Peninsula, now known as Southern.

The geographical location of offices and areas of service provision was then categorised according to the 11 health sub-districts, carefully utilising the Cape

³ During data collection, we noticed that the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health and the City of Cape Town demarcated the geographical area slightly differently. The research team had to seek for assistance in this regard.

Metropole sub-districts map⁴. It was found that offices and operations of two NGOs were outside the defined geographical area. Thus the respective entries of these NGOs were discarded in a bid to ensure consistency in capturing only data for NGOs in the defined area. The loss of this part of the data did not significantly alter the results, as this constituted only two cases out of 95.

Thereafter, a grid was developed in MS-Excel which was populated with the data obtained, and screened for as detailed and complete information as possible. This grid was then exported to SPSS, a statistical software package, for data analysis. After exporting the data from MS-Excel to SPSS, screening of the data for consistency and accurate reporting then followed. No cases with missing values were detected on imputation checks. In SPSS the data were mostly categorical and defined accordingly, and we mainly utilised frequency and intensity analysis (Popping, 2000).

In the final phase of data collection, data on HIV prevalence in the Cape Metropole district, by health sub-district, were sourced from the Western Cape Area Level HIV Surveys (see, for example, Western Cape Provincial Department of Health, 2006). Efforts were made to gather data on the HIV prevalence among young people aged 10-24 years in each of the health sub-districts. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain data disaggregated by age category, thus the HIV prevalence data from the antenatal surveys were utilised as a proxy.

Results

During the period 7th October 2006 to 31st July 2007, we identified 93 different NGOs in the Cape Metropole District that provide HIV/AIDS services to young people. Of these 93 NGOs, only 22.6% work exclusively with young people as the majority provide services to young people and other age groups.

Year of commencing service provision

Findings show that over the years there has been a steady increase in the number of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people. As Table 4.1 indicates, only four NGOs reported commencing service provision before 1985, and a further five

⁴ The researchers had to seek assistance in obtaining the maps from the City of Cape Town, and the Provincial Department of Health.

NGOs commenced between 1985 and 1989. Between 1990 and 1994, the number rose by a figure of 11 NGOs, and then further by another 18 NGOs between 1995 and 1999. The number of new NGOs in this field shot up by an additional 48 NGOs between 2000 and 2004. The data for 2005 onwards represented only two years, and during that period seven more NGOs commenced work with young people in the area of HIV and AIDS.

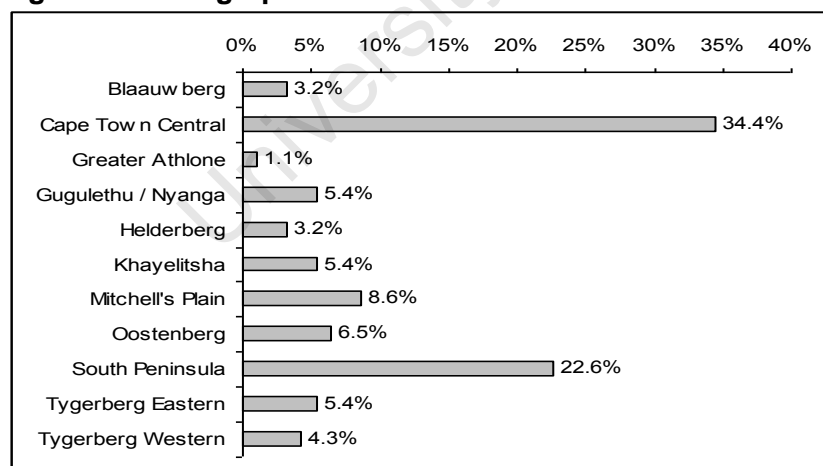
Table 4.1: NGOs' year of commencement of service provision

Period	Number
Before 1985	4
1985 - 1989	5
1990 - 1994	11
1995 - 1999	18
2000 - 2004	48
2005 - 2007	7
Total	93

Development NGO location

We examined the geographical clustering of these NGOs from two perspectives: firstly on the basis of the location of NGO offices and secondly by area of service provision. Figure 4.1 illustrates the resulting intensity of NGO offices across the 11 health sub-districts, while Figure 2 illustrates the intensity of service provision.

Figure 4.1: Geographical concentration of NGO offices



From Figure 4.1, it is evident that there was a marked variation in the intensity of preferred areas of locating NGO offices. The highest concentration of NGO offices was in Cape Town Central (34.4%) and South Peninsula (22.6%), which together account for 57%. The medium preferred areas of locating offices are Mitchell's Plain

and Oostenberg. The lowest preferred areas are Khayelitsha, Gugulethu/Nyanga and Tygerberg Eastern (each at 5.4%), with even lower concentration in Tygerberg Western, Blaauwberg, Helderberg, and Greater Athlone.

Figure 4.2: Geographical concentration of service provision

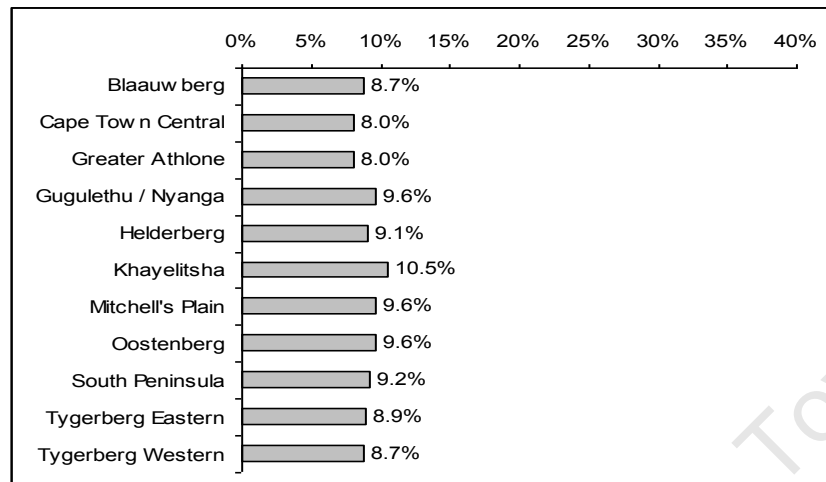


Figure 4.2 illustrates that there was no marked variation in the intensity of preferred areas of service provision, as there was only a 2.5% variability between the highest and lowest. Highest concentration of service provision was in Khayelitsha (10.5%), followed by Gugulethu/Nyanga, Mitchell's Plain and Oostenberg (each at 9.6%). Nonetheless, all the areas experienced a more-or-less even intensity in service provision.

NGO location and HIV prevalence

We then turned to compare our findings of the concentration of NGO location of offices and service sites with HIV prevalence by area. Our aim here was to identify whether NGOs allocated their efforts in areas of higher HIV prevalence.

To start with, we examined the HIV prevalence by area from 2001 to 2006; see the middle columns of Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: HIV prevalence by health sub-district between 2001 and 2006

Sub-health districts	% HIV Prevalence by health districts in the Cape Metropole						Average % HIV prevalence over 6 years
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Blaauwberg	0.6	8.2	4.4	1.2	7.3	5.8	4.6
CapeTown Central	3.7	11.9	11.6	13.7	11.5	11.1	10.6
Greater Athlone	6.8	8.9	10.1	16.4	17.7	12.9	12.1
Helderberg	19.0	19.1	19.1	18.8	12.8	17.3	17.7
Khayelitsha	22.0	24.9	27.2	33.0	32.6	32.7	28.7
Mitchell's Plain	0.7	4.0	6.3	12.9	5.1	11.3	6.7
Gugulethu/Nyanga	16.1	27.8	28.1	29.1	29.1	28.8	26.5
Oostenberg	5.7	14.5	16.1	14.8	16.2	18.8	14.4
South Peninsula	5.9	6.0	9.3	10.8	12.4	11.5	9.3
Tygerberg Eastern	6.1	10.4	7.9	12.7	15.2	15.6	11.3
Tygerberg Western	7.9	12.7	8.1	15.1	15.0	16.0	12.5

(Data on HIV Prevalence sourced from the Western Cape Area Level Surveys 2002, 2005 and 2006)

The six-year trend data revealed a significant increase in the HIV prevalence across all areas. It was also evident that the prevalence varies in magnitude and growth. Khayelitsha, Gugulethu/Nyanga and Helderberg (until 2004) had the highest HIV prevalence, while the lowest prevalence was noted in Blaauwberg, Mitchell's Plain South Peninsula and Cape Town Central. Helderberg was the only area that had a lower prevalence rate in 2006 compared to 2001, though an increase was observed between 2005 and 2006.

We then established the average percentage prevalence rate by area, as shown in the last column of Table 2. Although one limitation of utilising averages is that this can potentially skew data, it is evident that a similar picture emerged. The areas with the highest average percentage prevalence were Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. Areas with the medium average percentage prevalence were Helderberg, Oostenberg, Tygerberg Western, Greater Athlone, and Tygerberg Eastern. The lowest average percentage prevalence rates were in Cape Town Central, South Peninsula, Mitchell's Plain and Blaauwberg.

Taking the average percentage prevalence rate over six years as the basis, we then calculated the ratio of the concentration of NGO offices and service sites to the prevalence rate (see Table 4.3). This was to establish whether the intensity of NGO location was adequate to deal with the intensity of the HIV prevalence in each area.

Table 4.3: Ratio of NGO offices and service sites location to average percentage HIV prevalence rates

Sub-health district	NGO offices to HIV prevalence	Service sites to HIV prevalence
Blaauwberg	1: 0.698	1: 1.898
Cape Town Central	1: 3.250	1: 0.756
Greater Athlone	1: 0.091	1: 0.659
Helderberg	1: 0.305	1: 0.543
Khayelitsha	1: 0.111	1: 0.317
Mitchell's Plain	1: 0.804	1: 1.563
Gugulethu/Nyanga	1: 0.325	1: 0.362
Oostenberg	1: 0.453	1: 0.669
South Peninsula	1: 2.426	1: 0.988
Tygerberg Eastern	1: 0.477	1: 0.787
Tygerberg Western	1: 0.345	1: 0.698

Overall, this clearly revealed that there are discrepancies in both the intensity of preferred geographical location of NGO offices and areas of service provision, compared to the intensity of HIV prevalence. The comparison of NGO offices to HIV prevalence showed over-concentration only in two areas, namely, Cape Town Central (1:3.250) and South Peninsula (1:2.426). A slightly better scenario was found in Mitchell's Plain (1:0.804). In all other areas, the ratio figures revealed a much lower level of NGO offices than appropriate, given the average HIV percentage prevalence rates. The lowest ratios were in Greater Athlone and Khayelitsha, showing the least appropriate levels of concentration of NGO offices.

The comparison of NGO service sites to HIV prevalence showed slight over-concentration only in two areas: Blaauwberg (1:1.898) and Mitchell's Plain (1:1.563). A slightly better scenario was found in South Peninsula (1:0.988). Similarly, in all other areas the ratio of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates was much lower than ideal. It was interesting to note that Cape Town Central, which had an over-concentration of NGO offices, also faced a low ratio of service sites (1:0.756). The lowest ratios of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates were in Khayelitsha (1:0.317) and Gugulethu/Nyanga (1:0.362).

Discussion

The study of 93 development NGOs clearly found evidence that a significant number of different types of development NGOs have emerged to respond to the HIV and AIDS needs of young people over the last 2 decades. The sharpest increase

observed was between 2000 and 2004 (51.6%) and between 1995 and 1999 (19.4%). This confirmed that development NGOs have responded to addressing the HIV and AIDS needs of young people, which is a strategic approach given that one way to halt the spread of HIV and AIDS is to focus on young people (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007).

We take note that the data of 2005 onwards only represented a two-year period. Around 2011, therefore, it would be interesting to obtain the actual additional number of NGOs during the period 2005 to 2010, to establish whether there would be any changes in the trend. That is left to further research. This should be complimented with analysing the motives of development NGOs to provide HIV and AIDS services to young people.

The quantitative significance of the increasing number of NGOs notwithstanding, we examined the gap in knowledge on NGO location and how well targeted the locations are. Whether analysed by intensity of NGO office location or by ratio of NGO office location to the HIV percentage prevalence rates, we found a marked concentration of NGO offices in Cape Town Central and South Peninsula, confirming the view that NGOs often locate in the same geographical area. Given the reputation of development NGOs as being 'closer to the people', one would have expected community needs to be the key factor that influences NGO location. Clearly, this did not emerge strongly in this study. It is left to future research to identify the motives of these NGOs for their location choices.

The finding that NGOs operate in the same location is consistent with the findings of some international studies. Fruttero and Gauri (2005) examined the location of NGOs in Bangladesh and found that NGO choices were not related to indicators of community need, NGOs do not avoid duplication of effort, whilst it is probable that contracts with donors played a critical role. Campion (2002) examined rural NGOs in Mexico, and found that NGOs are not governed by the strategy to reach the people who need them most. Rather they (NGOs) are influenced by the different opportunities and constraints they initially encountered in their context, usually defined by the state. Barr and Fafchamps (2006) found evidence that although NGOs in Uganda endeavoured to redress the balance between rich and poor, they tended to neglect remote and poorer communities, and too often operated in the same location, thus clustering development interventions. The only opposing result found

was work by Brass (2009) on the location of NGOs in Kenya. Brass found that the need-factors play a significant role in determining location, along with the relative ease of reaching needy people, while political factors like patronage appear to have little or no influence.

There is a wide range of motivations underlying NGO location. According to Fruttero and Gauri (2005), there are incentives for NGOs to locate where donors are, suggesting that strategic funding considerations de-link location choices from indicators of local community needs. Location is largely attributed to proximity and visibility to government departments, donors and other NGOs, along with targeted priority areas of the funding agencies (Campion, 2002; Taylor, 2004; Jung and Moon, 2007; Koch, 2007; Nunnenkamp, Weingarth and Weisser, 2008). It has also been noted that the difficulty of reaching needy people, logistical costs, security and employee motivations hinder outreach to needier areas, since NGO employees prefer easier access to infrastructure for organisational, security and other personal needs (Dworken, 1999; Brass, 2009).

When we turned to the intensity of preferred areas of NGO service provision, we found a fairly even concentration in service provision across all health sub-districts. We also found that the highest intensity was in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. This initially suggested a link between NGO preferred areas of service provision and HIV prevalence, since Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga have the highest average HIV percentage prevalence rates over several years. However, deeper analysis revealed a different picture. The lowest ratios of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates were in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. This is a most insightful finding. It was clearly evident that despite the number of NGO service sites in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga, the intensity is significantly inadequate compared to the severity of HIV prevalence in these areas.

This confirms that NGOs do not strongly link their preferred area of service provision with HIV prevalence. Clearly the sheer number of NGOs has not necessarily translated into greater concentration of service provision in higher HIV prevalence areas. This finding offers much food for thought. On the one hand, it could be argued that this is advantageous, since NGOs provide a uniform coverage of service provision across the Cape Metropole district. On the other hand, it strongly highlighted that NGOs have not concentrated service provision in areas of higher HIV

prevalence. This may suggest that NGOs do not review, and hence fail to shift, strategic areas of service provision based on shifts in HIV prevalence. Therefore, areas of higher HIV prevalence have not received the intensive concentration of service provision that is expected.

What factors underlie the finding that NGOs offer a more-or-less uniform coverage throughout the geographical area? Could the uniform service delivery be a result of NGOs endeavouring to roll out interventions throughout the geographical area, with little room left to concentrate coverage in areas of greatest need? Gauri and Fruttero (2003) state that the choices of NGOs are significantly influenced by donors' concern for broad coverage, whilst Jung and Moon (2007) indicate that NGOs public-resource dependence significantly influences their behaviour and decisions. The South African government is a major donor in the HIV and AIDS arena nationally, and through partnerships, NGOs are increasingly contracted by government to provide services. Is it therefore plausible that the uniform coverage reflects a government concern for broad coverage in all areas, irrespective of prevalence rates? Alternatively, could the location choices be driven by the context found in high prevalence areas? Could issues of security and infrastructural service development be possible deterrents? These questions are left for further research.

The six-year HIV prevalence data showed that despite the Western Cape Province having the lowest HIV prevalence in the country, some health sub-districts, such as Khayelitsha, at times have marginally higher prevalence figures than the national HIV prevalence. Certainly district data of HIV prevalence conceals communities of greatest need. According to Shaikh et al. (2006), examining provincial estimates of HIV prevalence alone can potentially mask epicentres. They further argue that it is important to obtain sub-provincial data, in order to provide crucial information for local-level planning, resource allocation, monitoring and evaluation of HIV interventions. The findings of this study reveal the importance of examining health sub-districts data. In the same vein, analysis of smaller geographical areas must be further extended to specific suburbs, which are reported to have higher HIV prevalence rates such as Masiphumelele within the Southern Peninsula.

Conclusion

This study on the location of development NGOs is unique, as it narrows down to the development agenda of HIV and AIDS. We gained deeper insight into the targeting performance of development NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole district. We argued that if NGO location was determined by objective need-based grounds, then the concentration of NGO location of offices and service sites should be significantly intensive in areas of higher HIV prevalence. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first attempt of its kind in South Africa, as well as globally, on the development agenda of HIV and AIDS.

Several key issues emerged. Our results showed that a large and increasing number of development NGOs have responded to provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole district. Upon more in-depth analysis, what stands out is the overwhelming evidence that despite the large numbers, NGOs do not concentrate the location of their offices in higher HIV prevalence areas. Additionally, the sheer size of the quantitative numbers does not necessarily translate into greater concentration of service provision in higher HIV prevalence areas.

Although NGOs provided a more or less uniform coverage of services throughout the Cape Metropole district, there lacks a significantly strong link between areas of higher HIV prevalence and concentration of service delivery. This causes great concern. Could this be a proxy indicator as to why South Africa has not managed to turn the HIV and AIDS tide at a faster rate than the current performance? Since development NGOs are traditionally reputed to be 'closer to the people', and in South Africa NGOs play a key role in addressing HIV and AIDS, this finding has critical implications for policy. Furthermore, given that the highest HIV infection is among young people, the location of service sites urgently needs to be taken into account when specifically designing policy on the provision of HIV and AIDS services to young people. It would therefore be worthwhile to investigate how practitioners in the field of development, donors, planners, policy makers and the government can be strengthened and supported to acknowledge the importance of location, and utilise HIV prevalence rates as a strategic intent of service delivery. It is important to examine the situation not only at the provincial, district or sub-district level, but also at smaller area levels to create much needed information on areas reported to have higher HIV prevalence rates.

The main contribution of our paper is that higher HIV prevalence areas have not yet experienced greater intensity of HIV and AIDS services. We thus suggest an urgent strategic policy intervention to enable development practitioners to intensify service provision in high HIV prevalence areas. In developing contracts with NGOs, donors including the South African government, must utilise HIV prevalence as a guide in identifying areas of greatest need. Whereas location has traditionally been regarded as geographic information, mainly confined to geography, economic, financial and management literature, location information is highly essential for policy and service delivery effectiveness. A tactical location strategy will thus contribute to assisting better targeted service delivery for the benefit of the targeted group of people, and further to ensure accessibility of services to the people who need it most. Furthermore, it is essential that location strategies be periodically reviewed in light of changes in the context and the social problems being addressed so as to ensure that good locations do not turn out to be inappropriate after a period of time.

It remains open to debate, and further research, whether and to what extent, our findings would apply in other parts of the Western Cape Province and South Africa as a whole. Given the crucial findings and emerging questions relevant for policy making, it is recommended that similar studies, elsewhere in the world, be undertaken to examine the location targeting of NGO offices and particularly their service sites.

Acknowledgements

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University of Cape Town

Chapter 5. Development NGO management practices: A multiple-case study in South Africa

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to explore the management practices of development NGOs, as guided by the concept of Development Management, was fully hers. She convened a once-off Reference Group and provided the Panel of Experts with detailed information from the data-set of the 93 identified NGOs. They purposively sampled 5 NGOs, but 1 NGO was omitted from the field study as the NGO is engaged with child advocacy and does not provide primary HIV prevention services to young people. Multiple sources of data were used, including NGO directors, programme staff, young people, partner organisations and donors. Roselyn collected data from all sources, except in one instance when she was accompanied by a colleague at the Red Cross Children's Institute who assisted with English/isi-Xhosa translations. Transcribing was done by qualified transcribers who signed a confidentiality agreement. Roselyn analysed the data in Atlas.ti and wrote the paper. During field work, Prof Flisher provided the supervision and ensured that the methodology was sound. Prof Lund provided further supervision, ensured that findings were clear and the paper was written in the format required by the journal.

Current status

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Abstract

South Africa bears the highest burden of HIV and AIDS globally, with utmost incidence among young people. There has been an increase in development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services, but relatively little research on the management practices of these NGOs. This paper first presents a Development NGO Management Cycle. It then uses it as the conceptual framework in a multiple-case study exploring management practices of four reputable NGOs with HIV prevention interventions for young people in Cape Town. Evidence shows that although capacities varied, the NGOs generally concentrated on strategic location and implementation compared to other practices. Other common practices were beneficiary participation, planning, resource mobilisation, monitoring, reporting and external evaluations. Most challenging were needs assessment, influencing external environment, reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. There is need for NGOs, with support from donors, to explicitly embrace the full range of management practices, particularly influencing the environment and organisational learning.

Keywords

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); Development Management; performance management; NGO performance; multiple-case study; HIV prevention; young people; Cape Town; South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

HIV and AIDS is a serious problem in South Africa (Wessels, Nattrass and Rivett, 2007). The country has the highest number of people with HIV and AIDS in the world hence emerging 'as ground zero for the pandemic' (Rohleder, et al., 2010: 1). The sharpest increase in HIV infection is among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), there are approximately 192,000 new infections per year among young people, of which 90 per cent are females (Rehle, et al., 2007). Recent reports, however, show promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, et al., 2009).

From the onset of the epidemic, development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)¹ have emerged as crucial players. A recent study shows evidence of a large proliferation of NGOs have responded by providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). Services range from primary prevention to early detection and patient care (Reddy, et al., 2010). The sharpest increase in NGOs was between 2000 and 2004, reaching a cumulative total of 93 NGOs by 2007; see Figure 5.1.

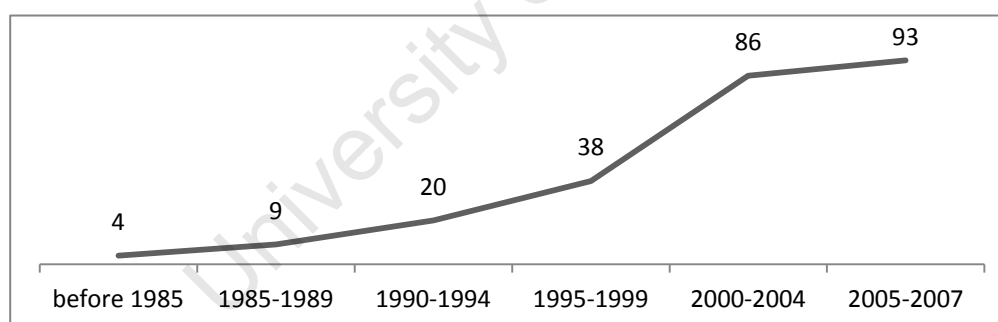


Figure 5.1: Increase in NGOs with HIV and AIDS interventions for young people in Cape Town (Source: (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a: 19)

¹ The diversity of NGOs is a complex, contested and controversial matter, which is not engaged with here. This article refers to NGOs involved in long-term development work. Hereafter the term NGO is utilised as shorthand for development NGOs.

Several national surveys have investigated the high HIV incidence from the perspective of individual behaviour of young people (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003; see, for example, Pettifor, *et al.*, 2004; Shisana, *et al.*, 2005; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Reddy, *et al.*, 2010), and a number of academic studies have focused on young people in Cape Town (see, for example, Flisher, *et al.*, 1993; Flisher, *et al.*, 2003; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2005; Mash, Kareithi and Mash, 2006; Mathews, *et al.*, 2009). These studies mainly attribute the high HIV incidence among young people to risky behaviour. However, there is a relative paucity of academic research that has examined the management practices of development NGOs targeting the HIV epidemic. This is an omission, given the major role NGOs play in HIV prevention and the increased global concern over NGO performance.

International literature confirms that there has been increased recognition of the important role NGOs play in the formulation, design and application of development strategies, in policy making and in disbursing aid. Alongside this, there has been substantial interest and concern over NGO performance from NGO practitioners, governments, citizens, donors, policy makers and academics (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). By the mid-1990s NGOs were making considerable effort to demonstrate their performance. This was due to doubts about NGOs' effectiveness over governments; increasing desire by NGOs to assess their achievements, manage organisational re-orientation and transformation, and improve accountability (Fowler, 1996; Paton, 2003); and stricter official aid requirements as donors became increasingly pre-occupied with effectiveness (Gneiting, 2008).

Whilst increased recognition of the role NGOs play is important, along with increased effort by NGOs to demonstrate their effectiveness, an area which has seldom been explored in research is the existing and non-existing management practices of NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people. NGO management is a relatively new subfield in development studies (Lewis, 2007), and exploring underlying factors influencing NGO performance remains an under-researched area (Kareithi and Lund, forthcoming-under review-a). According to Bebbington (2005), it is important to understand the internal and external context within which NGOs operate, in order to shift the analytical burden from one of blaming to one of explaining. Furthermore,

there is continued need to intensify engagement with HIV prevention as a long-term development issue (Barnett, 2004a).

In a bid to fill in the gap, an empirical exploratory study was undertaken, which sought to answer 'how?' and 'why?' questions regarding management practices of NGOs. This article details a multiple-case study of four NGOs providing primary HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. The objective was not to evaluate the NGO interventions, but rather to enhance understanding of the management practices and associated underlying factors. In order to provide an analytical framework to understand the empirical data, an amended project cycle management (PCM) was utilised, (hereafter referred to as the Development NGO Management Cycle). This cycle utilises a combination of principles of Development Management, along with performance management, and other key management principles as detailed in the literature.

This paper has six sections. Section 2 briefly explores the theoretical conceptualisation, indicates the rationale for modification of the PCM and then presents the Development NGO Management Cycle. The empirical research methodology is comprehensively described in Section 3. Section 4 presents the findings in detail, section 5 the discussion and section 6 concludes.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Development Management

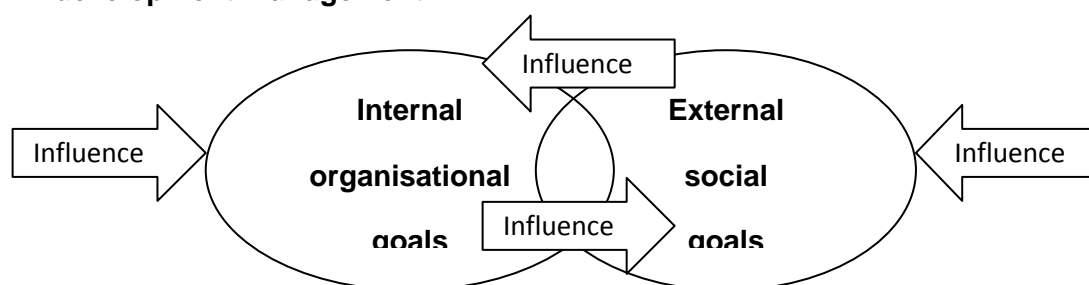
Research in the theory and practice of Development Management (DM) has grown (see, for example, Hewitt and Johnson, 1999; Brinkerhoff, 2008; Dar and Cooke, 2008). Theorists have offered numerous definitions of DM, resulting in several contrasting views. Lewis (2007) puts forward two fundamental problems of DM. Firstly, there is no broad agreement on the definition of DM due to the complexities that arise in efforts to combine concepts of 'management' and 'development'. Secondly, there is no agreement on the nature of development tasks and activities that need to be managed because activities are wide-ranging, and the terrain is highly contested.

In this paper, the notion of DM is embraced as defined by Alan Thomas (1996; 1999) who contends that DM is a distinctive form of management with several features that distinguish it from 'conventional management'. Conventional management focuses

on using resources to get the work done by the best means available, hence achieving organisational goals by co-ordinating internal organisational resources. In contrast, DM extends beyond internal organisational goals, towards directing effort to meet social goals external to any particular organisation. The conceptual underpinnings of DM involve management in the context of development as a long-term historical process, and management of deliberate intervention efforts or specific tasks aimed at progressive social change by various agencies, where goals and interests are subject to value-based conflicts. This involves intervening in social change processes and influencing the external environment within which organisations operate in a bid to enhance services provided to beneficiaries (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000; Kareithi, 2004); managing more effective interdependence in public action, which includes and excludes a range of actors and agendas (Robinson, 1999); and embedding reflections for learning beyond operational management challenges towards joint learning opportunities with other stakeholders (Abbott, Brown and Wilson, 2007). Hence, DM is a set of tools for managing development interventions, as well as an interdisciplinary field, and 'a means of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of development programmes and projects' (Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005: 35).

Whilst acknowledging that DM is a contested field with inherent ambiguities and hence not above reproach (Thomas, 2007), the concept of DM is used in this study as a distinctive form of management. It includes two inter-related dimensions of organisational functioning: internal and external.

Figure 5.2: The relationship between internal and external goals in development management



As **Figure 5.2** shows, it is not enough to manage an organisation and carry out planned activities (internal organisational goals), to ensure efficient and effective

implementation of development interventions. Rather, development organisations must go beyond that and aim at achieving external social goals not only by intervening in the social change process with a long-term focus, but also by explicitly identifying influencing factors, and then influencing the external context to create conducive environments for effective development.

Although development thinking should not only refer to the practice of development agencies (Thomas, 2000), there is need to discourage the tendency to separate the micro- from the macro- level (Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Furthermore, NGO management is an emerging specialised field, which forms a sub-set of wider DM (Lewis, 2007). Therefore, the authors propose that there is need to incorporate the key notions of DM into NGO performance management.

2.2 Project Cycle Management (PCM)

Development interventions tend to occur within projects (Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001), and NGOs, like other development organisations, use numerous approaches for project performance management. Common to many of these approaches is the familiar PCM (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Cracknell, 2000).

According to Cracknell (2000) Baum W.C, an economist with the World Bank, developed the cycle in the 1970s as a rational way of conceptualising and then managing projects. The cycle consists of various progressive phases. The number of stages, and names given to each stage, varies from one organisation to another. The PCM has evolved over many years, with the continuous stream of ideas that attempt to transform theory into practice, and vice versa. It has also developed from a single loop to a double loop cycle. Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Although the PCM has limitations (see, for example, Biggs and Smith, 2003; Brett, 2003), it is used in this study as it has become a standard tool in international development.

2.3 Emerging paradigms in NGO management

Over and above the management practices currently outlined in the PCM, a recent systematic review of the literature highlighted other additional important practices in managing development. Kareithi and Flisher (forthcoming-under review) reviewed

journal articles published between 1996 and 2008, which examined underlying factors influencing the performance of development NGOs. The main findings offer insights on four practices relevant to this paper. First, a conducive external environment was a major facilitating factor. NGOs are influential as they have greater autonomy than government agencies, are allowed more political space to work at grassroots, lobby and advocate to ensure supportive local environments (Edwards, 1999; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). Partnership and networking are utilised not only to influence wider environments (Edwards, 1999), but also to share critical resources and knowledge. Second, organisational learning was embraced with the emerging realisation that organisational effectiveness was positively correlated with learning from experience, along with the desire to learn from what works and what does not (Roche, 2000). Third, effective beneficiary participation was important to ensure relevant interventions, and gain legitimacy. Scholars argue that beneficiaries know what is helpful and what is not (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Kilby, 2006). Beneficiary participation was to be sought in needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation, hence increasing the momentum of downward accountability (Mebrahtu, 2002). Fourth, NGO geographical strategic location choices remain relatively unexplored (Koch, et al., 2009) but are crucial to increase access to resources by the neediest beneficiaries, whilst avoiding duplication of effort (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006) in areas of less need and/or excess capacity. Given the review findings, it is important to include emergent DM and performance management practices into traditional NGO management cycles, such as the PCM.

2.4 Modifying the PCM

Based on learning from the literature, the authors then modified the PCM to make it a contemporary guide in managing interventions. This resulted in the Development NGO Management Cycle, as set out in **Figure 5.3**.

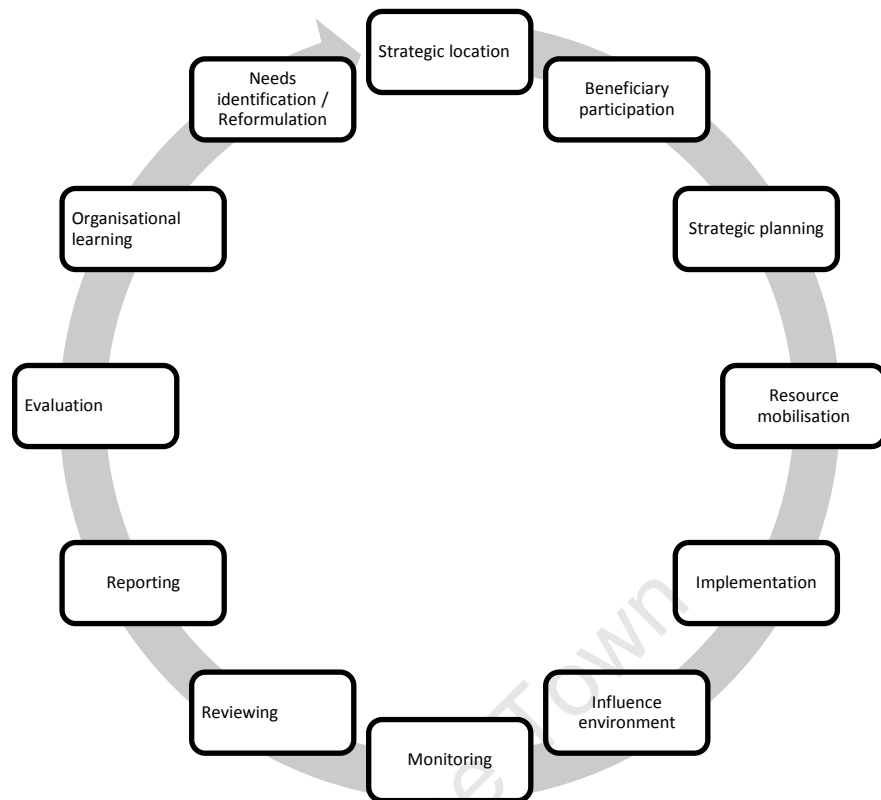


Figure 5.3: Development NGO Management Cycle

It must be noted that the ‘wrap-up’ stage, typical in many engineering and short-term projects, has been eliminated as focus is on long-term historical change processes; hence the emphasis on need re-formulation and re-planning. This framework is thus a spiral, rather than a cycle. Furthermore, while the spiral suggests sequential processes or stages, several practices occur simultaneously, jointly or throughout an intervention.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Empirical research objectives

The aim of the empirical research was to ground and enrich the concept of DM in NGO management through exploring the management practices of NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. The central research questions were to identify existing and non-existing management practices; to identify underpinning facilitating and constraining factors; and, to learn from practice.

3.2 Ethical Approval

Ethical approval for the research was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Health Sciences Faculty, University of Cape Town.² Further authorisation was granted by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health HIV and AIDS Committee.

3.3 Research Approach

The qualitative research approach was selected as the most appropriate as it facilitated deeper understanding, compared to a large sample survey, and assisted with understanding the existing phenomenon (Creswell, 2009). A multiple-case design, rather than a single case study, was chosen with multiple sources of evidence from both within and outside of the NGOs. This provided an in-depth triangulated picture, with more robust and compelling results (Yin, 2003).

3.4 Sampling Frame

In 2006-2007, studies identified 93 NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole District (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). These NGOs were utilised as the sampling frame in this study.

3.5 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was employed, as the authors aimed to learn from practice from the most reputable NGOs. Sampling for proportionality and empirical representation was not the primary concern. Judgment, instead of randomness, was utilised in selecting organisations and respondents known or recommended to be particularly knowledgeable (Neuman, 2006; Trochim, 2006).

In August 2007, the researcher convened a once-off reference group that formed a panel of five experts (1 Male; 4 Female).³ Each member of the panel was purposively selected as they had several years of experience working with, evaluating or researching NGO programmes. The panel discussed and agreed on the inclusion

² Formal approval was granted on 14th September 2006, REC REF: 353/2006.

³ Each member of the panel of experts was purposively selected as they had several years of working with, evaluating or researching NGO programmes. Individuals had varied backgrounds ranging from management, humanities and social science, to medical and health sciences. They represented various organizations including an international social and economic development consulting company; a network of non-government and community-based organizations working to reduce the impact of HIV and AIDS in the Western Cape province of South Africa; the Health Systems Research Unit of the Medical Research Council (MRC); the School of Public Health and Family Medicine (UCT); and, the Adolescent Health Research Unit (UCT).

criteria to guide purposive sampling of the multiple-case study organisations. These were that the NGO:

- Was registered in South Africa as a development NGO;
- Directly provided HIV prevention services to young people within the metropolitan area of Cape Town;
- Had a good reputation for its work in the views of the panel members;
- Had provided services to young people for several years; and,
- Had a reputation of willingness to participate in research.

The panel then purposively sampled four NGOs. This approach was taken in an attempt to minimise bias on the part of the researcher, by applying a transparent set of criteria, and giving responsibility for selection to the panel. The sampled NGOs operated at different levels; one at community level, two nationally and one in the Southern Africa region.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

All four sample organisations agreed to participate in the research. Informed consent and verbal assent was obtained from all informants, as well as signed parental/guardian consent for young people. Informants were also assured that confidentiality would be upheld; hence they are referred to by the generic label of the data-set, rather than names of organisations or individuals.

3.7 Data Collection

Multiple methods were employed in this research, with data gathered through individual interviews, group discussions and drawings. A range of informants, deemed relevant to enhancing understanding of the management practices, were sought; namely NGO directors, programme staff, young people, partner organisations and donors. The researcher ensured that information was gathered from young people as beneficiaries of the NGO interventions, as studies showed that beneficiaries are normally not included in implementation, and their opinion largely not sought in decision making in NGO management, and research studies (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004; Kareithi and Lund, forthcoming-under review-a). It also ensured triangulation, provided balance in the data collected (Thomas, Chataway and Wuyts, 1998), and generated data of relevant dimensions that would otherwise be overlooked (Chambers, 2009). **Table 5.1** shows the various sources of data, and

the link made between the research objectives and questions with the best methods identified to generate data from the chosen data sources (Mason, 2002).

Table 5.1: Management practices: Sources of data and link to research objectives and questions

Objective	Questions	Informants (data-set) and number		Method	Justification
Identify existing management practices	What management practices do the case-study NGOs practice?	NGO Directors	4	Individual interviews	Interviews with directors provided their experiences and accounts on management practices and underlying influencing factors.
		NGO Programme staff	21	Focus group interviews and drawings	Discussions with programme staff, who directly provided HIV prevention services to young people, provided their experiences and accounts on their management practices and influencing factors.
Identify underlying factors	What are the facilitating factors?	Partner organisations	4	Interviews	Interviews with partners provided their views and opinions on the NGO practices, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
	What are the constraining factors?	Donors	4	Interviews	Interviews with donors provided their accounts and additional insights on the NGO practices, ways in which they influence NGOs, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
		Young people	39	Focus group interviews and drawings	Discussions with young people as beneficiaries provided a lucid picture on their external environment, and their experiences (if any) of participating in management practices.

The researcher developed a multiple-case study protocol with a different set of questions for each data-set. The protocol carefully documented procedures before and after data collection. The protocol was crucial as it ensured that the semi-structured individual and group interviews followed a defined procedure. In each NGO, the researcher first collected data from the NGO director and programme staff, who then purposively selected the young people, a partner organisation and a donor, from whom additional information was gathered.

The researcher utilised the ladder technique design to get respondents to relax before asking more intrusive questions (Price, 2002). This was complimented with the appreciative inquiry approach that values the best of experiences, rather than only focusing on the negative (Thatchenkery and Chowdhry, 2007). These strategies succeeded in getting interviewees to open-up and be reflective. Additionally, drawings, a task done at the start of the group interviews, were used as a methodological tool during group discussions. Drawings proved to be an effective technique that enabled participants to work as a team and formed a basis to engage

with the researcher. It also provided visuals that were referred to during the discussions. Later, the drawings facilitated analysis and enhanced presentation of findings.

Data were collected between October 2007 and September 2008 from 72 informants; see table 5.1. All dates, times and venues were agreed at the convenience of informants. The questions guides had adequate space on which notes and annotations were made. The individual interviews took between one-and-a-half to two hours, while the group discussions lasted about two-and-a-half hours. Participants of the group discussions were provided with refreshments. Interviews were all conducted in English, save one group discussion conducted mainly in isi-Xhosa by a bi-lingual colleague who accompanied the researcher.

3.8 Data Management and Analysis

The data collection process yielded 12 individual interviews, eight group discussions, and 14 drawings. All individual and group interviews were recorded and transcribed in English, and drawings photographed.

Data were subjected to thematic analysis across the cases based on the aggregated evidence (Yin, 2003). The Development NGO Management Cycle was the theoretical perspective, which provided the overall orienting lens for this study (Creswell, 2009). The main themes were established from management practices in the cycle, and sub-categories emerged from emersion in the data (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008). The qualitative software programme, Atlas.ti version 5.2 assisted with the management and analysis of the large volume of data obtained, and results were confirmed by a reputable analyst.

A seminar was convened, in September 2008, to which all informants were invited, along with some NGO academics, consultants, and practitioners. Preliminary findings were disseminated, initial interpretations verified, feedback sought and incorporated into the final analysis.

4. Results

This section presents key findings in relation to each of the practices set out in the Development NGO Management Cycle. Evidence is derived from a multiple-case study of four NGOs, though they are not identified due to confidentiality reasons. First, a brief synopsis of the NGOs is presented. Then findings on management practices are presented, starting with a brief definition of each.

4.1 Synopsis of the NGOs

Table 5.2 shows some data of the studied NGOs.

Table 5.2: NGO characteristics

NGO	Type	Office location	Geographical coverage as per the Cape Metropole health sub-districts	Service sites location	Type of services
1	Specialist	Grassy Park	Mitchell's Plain, Greater Athlone and Khayelitsha	Schools	Peer education and life skills with drama performances and public information campaigns
2	Diverse	Khayelitsha	Khayelitsha	Schools, and office hall	Peer education, public information campaigns, and community mobilisation
3	Specialist	Woodstock	Khayelitsha, Gugulethu/ Nyanga and Mitchell's Plain	Schools and community centres	Life skills and public information campaigns while engaging in basketball and soccer/football
4	Diverse	Observa-tory	Khayelitsha and many areas over the Cape Metropole	Schools and organisation al youth centre	Peer education, life skills and voluntary counselling and testing (VCT)

*Note: 'Specialist' NGOs provide services to young people, while 'diverse' NGOs reach other age groups.

The study NGOs provided life skills or peer education to young people. Two NGOs situated their offices within the same geographical location as their intervention sites. Generally, the NGOs aim to reach young people in communities of most need, as the sites of service provision focused on low-resource communities with high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence.⁴ Some NGOs, with government contracts, also reach young people in more-resourced communities and/or lower HIV prevalence areas.

⁴ See Kareithi and Flisher (2009a: 22) for summary on HIV prevalence by health sub-districts between 2001 and 2006 in the Cape Metropole, Western Cape Province, South Africa.

This was mainly attributed to the government strategy to reach all school-going learners.⁵ Interventions were mostly provided through schools, as the NGOs were in partnership with the provincial government and/or with schools. Some interventions reached out-of-school youth.

4.2 Management practices

4.2.1 Needs identification/assessment

Needs assessment is the process of identifying and understanding a problem, including who is in need, size of need and what might work to meet the need of the targeted beneficiaries (Gosling and Edwards, 2003).

The study NGOs did not undertake a formal needs assessment of the beneficiaries they directly provided services to, but relied on research done by government, universities or research institutions on the risky behaviour of young people in South Africa.

They [referring to the First National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey by the Medical Research Council (MRC)] put the high risk behaviour of young people...then through government came our implementation of peer education. (Director)

NGOs attribute their inability to undertake needs assessments to funding, need for multi-lingual staff, and inadequate capacities of staff to analyse data. Additionally, low literacy levels of beneficiaries hampered their ability to properly complete questionnaires.

There's a lot of challenges. The languages. How we translate the information written by the kids...the kids sometimes don't understand the questions and leave the space blank. (Director)

However, knowledge of the needs of the targeted beneficiaries was gathered in an informal manner. First, needs were identified by the founder of the NGO. Second, NGO programme staff identified needs through observation and interaction with young people.

⁵ In South Africa, school going children are also referred to as learners.

4.2.2 Strategic location

Strategic location refers to the deliberate effort to geographically locate NGO offices and, more so, sites of service delivery within communities most in need of a development intervention (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a; Koch, *et al.*, 2009).

As a strategy to enhance beneficiary reach, all study NGOs located their intervention sites within high HIV prevalence areas, such as Khayelitsha, or in areas with increasing HIV prevalence, such as Mitchell's Plain. As **Figure 5.4** and interview extract illustrate some NGOs also located their offices within the targeted community.



Figure 5.4: Strategic location of NGO within community (Source: Drawing by programme staff of a picture depicting their organisation)

This organisation it is rooted within Khayelitsha...if our staff members are living somewhere else, we wouldn't know the challenges. (Programme staff)

NGOs, whose offices were located elsewhere, had varied strategies to increase reach to beneficiaries. One NGO had a field office (referred to as a youth centre) in the community where its largest operations were located. Another NGO hired

programme staff living in the targeted community, who encouraged young people to consult and interact with them regularly.

4.2.3 Beneficiary participation

Beneficiary participation entails soliciting the views of targeted beneficiaries regarding a planned or ongoing intervention, and utilising the input in project design, needs assessment, implementation, monitoring, and evaluations (Morra-Imas and Rist, 2009). The purpose is to enable the realities and priorities of beneficiaries to be expressed and communicated to decision and policy makers (Chambers, 1998). This should not just involve consulting or informing, but should entail strong participation through a partnership process (Brett, 2003).

Some NGOs recognise that beneficiary participation facilitates beneficiary ownership. These NGOs have embraced beneficiary participation mainly in planning and implementation.

That is why the programme has been so successful because it included participation as early as design stage. (Director)

We make the youth part and parcel of our programme so that they almost own it. You will not change people's minds if you come with the attitude "I say so". (Director)

It seemed that beneficiary participation in implementation may largely be attributed to the peer education approach.

Obviously the programmes are run by the youth themselves. So we facilitate the programme for them really; the kids implement the programme for their peers. (Director)

However, beneficiary participation seemed not to have filtered through into other management practices. When beneficiaries were asked how they shared their ideas with the NGOs, several young people appeared somewhat confused and anxious about why the NGOs should seek their opinion. There were often long gaps of silence. Then a few participants were careful to provide a positive impression or an assumption that NGOs know what they are doing. Others confirmed weak beneficiary participation.

No, we are focusing on the lessons ... it is intense.

I think [the NGO] knows about it because everything they do is focused on young people, so that means they know.

I also think that [the NGO] facilitators were also young once, so they do understand.

Nobody asks us; if they asked us we would have told them. (Young people)

Beneficiary participation was further regarded as time consuming. Some donors recognised it was a crucial principle, but adoption was left to the NGO.

It really is up to the partner to be the champion, so to speak, of what we call child-partners... We discuss it individually with each partner, but it really is up to the partner to take that and decide what they want to do with it. Then the child participation thing will work. It depends on how much time you want to take, and how much you want to invest in that area. (Donor)

4.2.4 Strategic planning

Strategic planning entails formulating broad, clear and realistic series of actions designed to achieve a set of aims and objectives, which deal with the identified problem (Gosling and Edwards, 2003). It is a flexible tool, which gives broad directions, guides project implementation, and enables staff to make decisions and change direction based on experience while working within the broad mandate set by the organisation (Wallace, 1997).

The study NGOs undertook both short- and long-term strategic planning. Some NGOs used participatory bottom-up processes to plan, involving staff, management and then the board of directors. Others followed a top-down approach, involving only the board and NGO director. Some programme staff regarded this as prescriptive and at times resisted aspects they considered unrealistic.

They meet for many weeks, and plan for four or five years and come up with the ideas. After a month, they will come to us with those ideas and we will scrap them if we don't want them. (Programme staff)

4.2.5 Resource mobilisation

Resource mobilisation is the acquisition and control of finances (Conradie, 1999), as well as human resources, and assets such as land, office buildings, vehicles and so on to facilitate implementation of the identified intervention.

With regards to personnel, the study NGOs hired relatively young programme staff to facilitate easier relations with their young beneficiaries. Some deliberately hired individuals who had participated in a behaviour change intervention as beneficiaries; not just as facilitators.

That is why today you see not a single person is 45 years old, or 35 for that matter. (Programme staff)

100 per cent of the youth workers have been on programmes themselves...not 80, not 90, 100 per cent...they've been peer educators or on one of the [other] programmes. (Director)

Additionally, NGOs hired staff living in the same community as their beneficiaries.

What we've realised is that we don't need outsiders...get the young people in the community to work in their own community. (Director)

Regarding finances, proposal writing and fund raising was undertaken not only by the NGO director, but also by the programme staff. NGOs experienced different levels of funding. Some had secured funding for a five-year period but were cautious that factors beyond their control may adversely affect the future ability of their donors to provide funding.

At this stage our contracts would cover our work until the end of 2013...but you know how things are, those contracts are not necessarily binding on the donor. (Director)

These NGOs however indicated that restricted funding limited innovation and adequate personnel welfare development.

Since all of our funding come[s] from donors who obviously pay for very specific activities and things, it's difficult to experiment at times. And it's also difficult to take care of our staff in the way that we'd like to since our current donors don't pay for staff wellness, team building, etc. Those things are really important in the kind of environment that we're working in, to enable staff to debrief and just to forget about problems. (Director)

Some NGOs struggled to raise adequate funds. They relied on volunteers, in-kind assistance, and/or operated smaller interventions than the beneficiaries need. The inadequate funding made it impossible for the NGOs to hire skilled staff. The

situation also meant they were unable to adequately remunerate personnel, resulting in high staff turnover.

Some donors were aware of the inadequate funding channelled through the partnership programme with NGOs. They, however, reported that NGOs are required to fund-raise elsewhere.

There has to be a 50-50 relationship... Government must put in 50 per cent of the funds... Or I'm arguing we can only afford to put in 50 per cent. Now Trevor Manuel [the then Minister of Finance] will argue the exact same thing. Where do they [NGO] get the other 50 per cent from? Well they must get it from other donors. Whether it is international donors or community based donors, corner café owner, parents in the schools, peer educators themselves raising funds, and so on. (Donor)

4.2.6 Implementation

Implementation as the allocation of resources, coordination of effort and intervening in a social issue by implementing the identified intervention.

The NGOs provided a range of services including peer education, life skills and public information campaigns. The study NGOs made special effort to have innovative interventions through incorporating sports, particularly soccer/football and basket ball; performance arts such as drama, singing, and dancing; and, community service such as visits to children's homes and raising community awareness through community action teams. Young people who were interviewed said that they appreciated the intervention. They not only obtained education and skills, but also opportunities for alternative life-styles.

Some youth have a messed up life...not have positive influences...we need guidance and mentoring.

If you are not there [at the NGO programme], you are getting robbed already, or raped, or smoking drugs or doing drugs. (Young people)

Some partner organisations praised the NGOs' intervention, while others were sceptical given the overall general challenges of HIV prevention in South Africa.

One of the big legacies they provide is a better understanding of how to reach youth and how to access youth and how to speak to youth in a language that

they understand in sort of a creative methodology on fighting HIV and AIDS.
(Partner organisation)

I don't credit them for doing a good job, I don't credit anybody for doing a good job...but at the same time I recognise that it is a long process, it's not easy. (Partner organisation)

There was emerging recognition that concerted effort was required to reach a larger number of young people. However, there was ongoing contestation on who the targeted beneficiaries were.

I think there is ample evidence that the peer educators have benefited. They are not the beneficiaries; they are the agents. They have benefited even though they are the agents. (Donor)

Concerns were raised that NGOs on their own could not reach all the young people in a community. Other stakeholders also had to make an effort.

The unfortunate thing [is] they [the NGO] can only target a small group per school. It is actually the schools job after that to take that leadership and disseminate it amongst the rest of the school. (Partner organisation)

4.2.7 Influence environment

This entails influencing the external environment within which organisations operate (Thomas, 1996; Hewitt and Johnson, 1999). It can be done through inter-organisational relationships and policy influencing within one's agency or wider public (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000).

Although none of the NGOs used the terms 'influencing environment/context/landscape', they reported some practices. One partner organisation confirmed the practice of inter-organisational relationships. However, networking and sharing opportunities were sporadic and at times not well attended.

We have quarterly meetings. Participants include the NGOs. We make graphs showing the performance... The more people know the more they think. (Partner organisation)

The study NGOs also endeavoured to influence policy, but reported that it was challenging. Additionally, NGOs mainly regarded their advocacy role as influencing

government, rather than influencing the local community. In many cases influencing the environment was regarded as political, and a domain for more qualified staff.

We try everything possible to avoid any political discussions; we want to be continuing to lead in terms of innovations... We want to try to influence policies at government level, but only once we have that person [an additional staff member who can lobby and influence government]. (Director)

Some NGOs felt that influencing the environment was a deviation from their work, reflecting that this practice was not part of the intervention design. Common constraints were donor policies and restrictive funding.

The donor has no flexibility to work outside agreed terms. (Director)

A lot of the times the agendas are set by the money. So in a way the funders are very much influential in setting the agenda. (Partner organisation)

All donors seemed to confirm that this was the reality.

Most of the contracts that we sign with NGOs the goals are clear... Anything that is outside of that business plan, [the NGO] will have to find other source of funding. (Donor)

We do that with other partners whose entire programme is to influence policy, to work at the policy level... But [the NGO] isn't one of those programmes that we support in that manner. (Donor)

Some donors, upon reflection during the interview, appeared to relate to the importance of influencing the external environment.

I do think it is important for partners to prioritise and commit to influencing their surroundings, influencing their community around them... I'm really going back to that idea of how important it is to look back to the original idea of having community conversations. (Donor)

Overall, NGOs were aware of the adverse environment in which they operated in the context of HIV prevention. This was confirmed during dissemination of preliminary findings.

There's amazing resilience within organisations working in this environment. It's a special kind of person to work in such situations. They are still able to do something with the little that they have, but are constantly concerned with how to do more. (Seminar participant)

4.2.8 Monitoring

Monitoring is the systematic and continuous collecting and analysis of information on project progress over time. It is used to keep track of events, check progress towards the achievement of objectives, identify strengths and weaknesses and provide data for timely decision making for improvements (Cracknell, 2000; Gosling and Edwards, 2003). Monitoring is normally done by the staff implementing the project on the work, achievement, challenges, and the external environment.

The study NGOs endeavoured to collect data. Although some programme staff were confident in monitoring, others were not. Major constraining factors were inadequate programme staff skills levels, and their perception that monitoring was not their core activity.

I think the monitoring bit becomes very difficult... We leave it up to the facilitators on the ground to monitor. And most of them are not researchers, they are just facilitators. They love being with kids, they've got the heart, the passion, but they don't necessarily like the admin. (Programme staff-manager)

Commonly, staff maintained attendance registers as a tool to record numbers reached, by gender, and to ensure beneficiaries participated in all sessions towards completion of the programme.

We also have a monitoring tool to see how far our targets are for each school... We will know the schools; exactly how many pupils registered on our programme, weekly attendance, to who is badged [completes]. (Programme staff)

NGO directors reported increasing recognition of the knowledge generated from monitoring.

I think we are getting it...monitor not only the bad things, also the good things. (Director)

NGO programme staff also gathered information to ascertain if the training or workshop sessions were well received and understood. However, they reported that monitoring was mainly undertaken to comply with donor reporting requirements, which seemed to emphasise quantitative data.

4.2.9 Reviewing

Reviewing is the continuous reflection on data gathered to assess project progress, on any aspect based on a range of criteria, at any time, to enhance success, deliberate over challenges, and to aid appropriate decision making of the direction of future work (Gosling and Edwards, 2003). Reviewing is different from evaluation, as it is carried out by the NGO staff, while an external evaluation is done by external agents.

Reviewing was commonly conducted during NGO staff meetings. However, data gathered were primarily utilised for donor reporting, rather than internal decision making. All NGOs appeared to appreciate the interviews with the researcher as having created an opportunity for reflection.

Your questions were challenging. There was a question you ask, about do you normally meet like scrutinize or sit down check what are we doing. So I have noticed there is a necessity for that, check deep. Not actually to know you and you are doing this programme; it is good, but to look deep.
(Programme staff)

4.2.10 Reporting

Reporting entails regular preparation and dissemination of feedback to various stakeholders to give an account of their work (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008) on project results, successes, challenges and lessons learnt.

The study NGOs reporting tasks seemed to focus on reporting activities undertaken. Many programme staff seemed uncomfortable with writing reports, and preferred to make verbal reports at daily, weekly or monthly staff meetings.

They [facilitators] have to spend a lot of time reporting - it is a bit annoying during their first attempt. (Programme staff)

The preference for verbal reporting was attributed to inadequate skills of the programme staff to document and analyse.

I have been taught in the Bantu⁶ education whereby they tell me, "Mama loves?" I used to finish up, "Daddy." "I live in" "Makaza". I do not say "I live in"

⁶ Bantu (African) Education was the inferior system during the apartheid era that aimed to direct black and non-white youth to the unskilled labour market. Adverse effects of this style of education have had long-term consequences. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bantu_Education_Act for more details.

that was for the teacher. I must finish off every sentence. The teacher would say, "2 times 1", and we say "2". We used to even have a song. [Participants chant the song.] So actually in a way that stereotyped people... because that is what they have been used to, told stuff and then just act this little bit. The teacher would say "1 plus 1 =" We are told to say "2". What have you done? Nothing! (Programme staff)

The study NGOs recognised the need to move from verbal to documented reports, and hence hired additional staff to capture data from programme staff.

It's not left in the field, we always report back... We capture our target indicators, set by the Global Fund. They [facilitators] give a feedback to the coordinator for records. (Programme staff)

However, in some NGOs this created challenges of incomplete or erratic documentation.

The study NGOs made concerted efforts to report to their donors, though it was done in a piecemeal rather than an integrated manner. Donors mainly required quantitative data. NGOs further endeavoured to meet targets agreed with donors, as failure to do so could result in revocation of funding.

We hand-in a quarterly report. [It] is mostly statistics and targets. For this prevention programme, [it's] mainly the numbers. (Programme staff)

We have an understanding in terms of the agreement that they will report...there is direct pressure on the NGO to deliver otherwise payment will stop. (Donor)

Some NGOs indicated that reports were utilised for review and management decision making. Generally, NGOs focused on upward external accountability with reporting to donors. NGOs reported they rarely disseminated their work to others, as confirmed by a partner organisation.

That's something that we traditionally haven't given any attention to...we're one of the larger NGOs in the country, yet nobody knows about us. (Director)
So [the NGO] could have been more proactive. But of course I don't know enough of what they're doing. (Partner organisation)

4.2.11 Evaluation

Evaluation is the systematic acquisition and assessment of data, with various purposes such as verifying if objectives are achieved, assessing impact of the intervention, recommending future improvements and learning lessons for future similar projects. It is usually carried out by external researchers or consultants to ensure independence (Cracknell, 2000; Gosling and Edwards, 2003).

All study NGOs reported having established partnerships with external organisations, such as research firms and universities, which undertook the external evaluations. Evaluations were mainly commissioned by donors.

We're in collaboration with [research firm]... And they've done a thorough study on our project and several of PEPfAR partners. (Programme staff)

4.2.12 Organisational learning

Organisational learning entails allocating space, time and opportunities for organisations to reflect, share and learn from experience during project implementation and information gathered from both within and outside the organisation (Taylor, 2003). Learning may be intentional and structured or informal and arise from different forms of engagement (Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Reflection is made of both internal and external environmental changes to engage in new ideas and innovative practices (Taylor, 2003), to enhance capacity and capability in the organisation (Johnson and Thomas, 2007), and to incorporate learning into future practice and policy (Gosling and Edwards, 2003).

NGOs indicated an emerging recognition of the importance of reflecting.

You cannot improve anything if you are not going to have reflection. (Director)

Some NGOs reported that reflection and sharing commonly occurred at the programme and management staff meeting. Other NGOs referred to formal training at short-course workshops, longer-term college and university education, and meetings with donors as learning opportunities. There seemed to be a focus on learning from experts.

4.2.13 Needs reformulation

Needs reformulation entails amending needs of the targeted beneficiaries based on changes in their practices and context, and based on lessons learnt during project implementation, reviewing and evaluation.

Generally, needs reformulation was not a common practice. Some NGOs undertook needs reformulation through pre- and post-implementation surveys of beneficiaries.

We often do what's called a pre-assessment with young people, where they are able to fill in survey questionnaires, just on different HIV issues that we ask them. We also do a post assessment to look at if their thinking is the same and their behaviour's the same, and what can we change in the programme. (Programme staff)

Others regarded partnerships with research institutions, and the resulting research reports, as a means to shape development of programmes and the NGO.

5. DISCUSSION

The authors found evidence, from this multiple-case study, that the most common management practices were strategic location and implementation. The NGOs located their intervention sites within reach by young people, such as in schools and community centres. All NGOs implemented interventions in an innovative, youth-friendly style, which young people appreciated.

Other common management practices were beneficiary participation (in implementation rather than decision making), planning, resource mobilisation, monitoring, reporting and external evaluations, although there were varied capacities and capabilities to undertake these practices. Strikingly, while some NGOs raise adequate funding, monitor, review and report, other NGOs struggle with these even though the panel of experts had regarded them and reputable organisations that have been providing services to young people for several years. Accountability practices seemed geared towards ensuring legitimacy, future funding and survival; a finding in line with Goddard and Assad (2006). Evidently there was skewed upward external accountability, with minimal internal accountability and downward accountability to beneficiaries (Ebrahim, 2005). Analysis revealed minimal beneficiary participation. Beneficiary participation was largely associated with particular interventions such as the peer education programme. This finding confirms Brett's

argument that effective participation is achieved when 'operationalised through institutional arrangements which maximise the accountability of agencies to users' (Brett, 2003: 1-2).

Practices that emerged as most challenging were needs assessment, influencing the external environment, reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. Generally, there seemed to be a lack of exposure, knowledge or capacity to undertake these practices. The enormous task of influencing the environment emphasises that concerted effort is required from numerous agencies, as no individual organisation has access to all resources required for development (Thomas, 1996; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). Minimal needs assessment and needs reformulation seemed to be associated with minimal monitoring, reviewing and organisational learning. Minimal organisational learning was attributed to the concentration on delivering and meeting targets of the donor-led contract work. This is similar to Fowler (1997) sentiments that NGOs have a dominant culture of action over reflecting, analysis and learning. Skewed upward external accountability seemed to have the knock-on-effect of NGOs not creating adequate space for reviewing and learning from both successes and challenges. This provides empirical evidence that rewarding success while punishing failure, through revocation of funds or additional funding conditions, tends to discourage NGOs from revealing and scrutinising mistakes, and that 'short-term accountability to funders can chill learning and innovation' (Ebrahim, 2005: 82). Whilst not denying the importance of learning from educational institutions and experts, there indeed is need for NGO staff to create more space, time and opportunities to learn from each other (Taylor, 2003; Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Finally although these results are not new, our present findings confirm that even reputable NGOs and their stakeholders seem slow to make a significant shift in their practices (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008).

5.1 Methodological strengths and limitations

This paper has made a few contributions. First, it presented a Development NGO Management Cycle, which combined principles in management of development. Second, data were sought from multiple sources, both internal and external to the organisation, including young beneficiaries and field staff. This presented a unique methodology for gathering empirical evidence on NGO management. Additionally, management practices of four NGOs were explored, rather than a single organisation, increasing the robustness of the research (Yin, 2003). Third, the study

not only explored existing and non-existing management practices, but also underlying facilitators and constraints. It thus contributes to enhancing understanding of NGO performance.

However, there were methodological limitations worthy of note. First, the research centred on four reputable NGOs. Hence no data were available to enable comparison between 'weak' or 'strong' performing NGOs. Second, as data on NGO management performance was hard to come by, NGOs were selected based on the reputation of their HIV prevention services to young people rather than on their management performance. Nonetheless, the findings were robust enough to provide crucial evidence to development managers.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study presented a modified PCM, referred to as a Development NGO Management Cycle. It then utilised its dimensions in a multiple-case study to explore the practices of four NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. Exploring underlying factors has shed a vivid picture of the context within which NGOs operate.

Perhaps the most notable point for development managers in NGOs, governments, and donor agencies to draw from this multiple-case study is the emergent pattern that the NGOs centre attention on strategic location and implementation than on other management practices. These NGOs also seem to reach their beneficiaries, mobilise some resources, and establish upward external accountability to donors. These practices could account for their reputation in the field. Although these NGOs mobilised resources, adequate funding remains a challenge. Given the size of the epidemic, there is urgent need for donors to consider increasing resources to HIV prevention. Of further importance is the general evidence that contemporary management theory has still not been fully incorporated into practice. There is continued need to build NGO capacities to understand and exercise the different management practices. NGOs, and their stakeholders, must continue working on existing good practices whilst making efforts to improve on weak ones. Finally, the results of this study could be relevant for NGOs working in other development sectors, and not just those dealing with HIV and AIDS. It is hoped that these results will be of assistance not only to NGO practitioners, but also to donor agencies,

governments and policy makers, who intentionally or unintentionally remain significant shapers of the practices of NGOs.

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Chapter 6. Understanding influences of the social and economic environment on HIV prevention: Drawings and voices of young people in Cape Town, South Africa

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to incorporate the voices of young people to explore their social and economic environment in the context of HIV prevention was fully hers. She collected the data from young people through focus group discussions and drawings, analysed the data, and wrote the paper. During field work, Prof Flisher provided the supervision. Prof Lund provided further supervision by ensuring findings were clear and the paper was written in the format required by the journal.

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Abstract

There is growing recognition that the social and economic environment influences effectiveness of HIV prevention interventions. However, relatively few studies in NGO performance management have examined the environment, particularly from the perspective of young people. Furthermore, young people are viewed as mere recipients of services, rather than people with perspectives to be heard and considered. In this study, we draw on a research project that explored management practices of four development NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa. This article reports the unique and critical opportunity to understand how young people perceive the influences of their environment. Data were collected between 2007 and 2008 through four focus group discussions, with drawing activities, from 39 young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities. Findings showed several adverse influences inhibit young people's compliance to HIV prevention messages. Key factors included negative social norms; inadequate recreational facilities; crime; chronic poverty; inadequate parent/guardian-child relationship; and inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders. The wealth of data generated indicates that young people are acutely aware of their environment, and that they can be effective participants in development management research. Evidence reiterates the need for much work to be done to create more enabling environments. Policy on the provision of HIV prevention services needs to: broaden ways of creating an enabling environment; support HIV prevention interventions to explicitly incorporate examining and influencing the environment; and advocate for concerted multiple action to fight for more enabling environments not only by young people, families, schools and NGOs, but also by the wider community including policy makers, development agencies, donors, religious organisations, media, private firms, and local, provincial and national governments. Failure to do so will perpetuate implementation of interventions within adverse environments, thereby choking efforts in South Africa to make significant milestones in HIV prevention.

Keywords

HIV prevention; influencing external environment; young people; development management; public action; South Africa

Introduction

South Africa has “emerged as ground zero for the pandemic” (Rohleder, *et al.*, 2010, pp.1) with the highest number of HIV infections in the world; approximately 5.7 million in 2009 (UNAIDS, 2008; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Republic of South Africa, 2010). The sharpest HIV incidence was among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), approximately 192,000 new infections occur per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). Recent reports, however, show promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009).

A large volume of research has analysed and confirmed the risky behaviour of young people. The studies range from national surveys (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003; see, for example, Pettifor, *et al.*, 2004; Shisana, *et al.*, 2005; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Reddy, *et al.*, 2010), to provincial and local surveys such as studies in Cape Town (Flisher, *et al.*, 1993; see, for example, Flisher, *et al.*, 2003; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2005; Mash, Kareithi and Mash, 2006; Mathews, *et al.*, 2009).

From the onset of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)¹ have responded and emerged as crucial players. A recent study shows that between 1985 and 2007 the number of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town has increased, reaching 93 NGOs by 2007 (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). Services rendered range from primary prevention to early detection and patient care levels (Reddy, *et al.*, 2010).

Despite the numerous HIV prevention interventions and documented increases in adolescent knowledge on HIV and AIDS, adolescent behaviour has been slow to change (Setswe, *et al.*, 2007). In line with the “call for more draconian measures than are currently envisaged” and the need to build institutionalised and social compliance procedures and constraints (Allen and Heald, 2004: 1141), questions remain about why young people do not comply with HIV prevention messages and avoid risky behaviour. Scholars suggest that numerous factors need consideration when addressing adolescent sexuality (Szabo, 2006), and that unsafe sexual behaviour of young people is advanced not only by factors within the person and interpersonal

¹ The diversity of NGOs is not dealt with here. This article refers to NGOs involved in long-term development work. Hereafter, the term NGO is utilised as shorthand for development NGOs.

relationships, but also by environmental factors particularly poverty and social norms (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003). A recent systematic review of NGO performance highlights the need to examine the external environment within which organisations operate (Kareithi and Flisher, forthcoming-under review). There further seems to be increasing recognition that the environment within which young people live plays an influential role on the effectiveness of health education including HIV prevention interventions (Campbell, 2004; Campbell, *et al.*, 2005). However, examination of the environment is an area that has not been extensively explored.

Along with this, the perspective of targeted beneficiaries of HIV prevention interventions was rarely sought, particularly that of young people (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004). This is a serious omission, given the rhetoric of beneficiary participation and participatory development in international development literature. Several reasons have been advanced to explain why the voices of young people are not sought and effectively heard. First, young people tend to be viewed as mere recipients of services (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004), and they are generally excluded from decision making (Campbell, *et al.*, 2005; Campbell, *et al.*, 2009). Second, concerns have been raised about the ability and competence of young people to critically reflect and express themselves. Young people are considered as unreliable reporters even of their own experiences (Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth and New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People, 2009), and some researchers question the reliability, validity and generalisability of young people's research input (Dockett and Perry, 2007). Third, participatory processes with young people are regarded as time consuming, require special skills, extra passion and commitment, yet quality of the data is not guaranteed (Kareithi and Lund, forthcoming-under review-b). Furthermore, researchers raise concerns regarding ethical considerations due to the fear of violating the rights of young people, and practical issues such as access considerations.

Although there are challenges to beneficiary participation, there are a number of arguments to support it. First, Robert Chambers, a key proponent of participatory development argues that beneficiary participation generates data of relevant dimensions that would otherwise be overlooked (Chambers, 2009). Some scholars (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Kilby, 2006) state that beneficiaries know what is helpful and what is not. Furthermore, beneficiary participation forms part of

recognising local indigenous knowledge, and contributes to sustainable growth and development (Theron, 2008). Second, participation of young people in needs identification, and programme design and development, leads to greater acceptability and appropriateness (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004), as their constructive involvement is critical in the fight against HIV infection (Szabo, 2006). A recent study cautions that there is need to utilise techniques that enable young people identify their own priorities and add to understanding of their individual health and wellbeing (Gibbs, *et al.*, 2010). Third, contemporary studies across a range of disciplines have established the competence of young people in articulating their views and opinions, and their ability to report on important issues in their life experiences (Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth and New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People, 2009). Fourth, and of significance to human rights, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), Article 12, assigns to children and young people the right to freely express their views and opinions and have them considered as part of decision making about them (United Nations Human Rights, 2009). Furthermore, studies have shown that beneficiary participation is empowering; as research participants, young people are bound to learn particular ways of looking at a phenomenon during data collection (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008).

In the light of these arguments, a strong case can be made for research centred on hearing the voices of young people. In particular, there is a need to use this approach to increase our understanding of the adverse influences of the external environment on HIV prevention. This study aimed to increase empirical evidence on adverse influences in the external environment of young people in low resource, high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa; to provide the unique and critical opportunity to obtain and learn from the experiences, views, and opinions of young people; and to provide an example of how the voices of young people can be incorporated into similar research. This was done to establish how the environment influences the ability of young people to institutionalise HIV prevention messages. This study did not evaluate the HIV prevention interventions that the participating young people attended. Neither did it render judgments on the implementing NGOs. It further did not explore participants' sexual behaviour practices since several studies on this topic exist. We hope that the findings of this study will help influence policy making to explicitly and intensively create more enabling environments and to hear the voices of young people, pertinent issues often

neglected in the development and management of HIV prevention interventions and research.

Methods

Study approach and setting

This study was part of a larger research project on the development management of NGOs². Qualitative research methods were selected to facilitate a deeper understanding (Creswell, 2009) of the perspectives of young people on influences of their environment. We further chose a multiple-case design, which follows the replication logic, for more compelling and robust results than a single case study (Yin, 2003). The research explored four reputable NGOs that provide HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa. The NGOs mainly target young people in communities of most need i.e. low resource, high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities³. These communities were formerly designated for black Africans under apartheid, and often characterised by high population density, unemployment, and contact crime such as common robbery, sexual offences and murder (South African Police Services, 2010).

Purposive sampling

Young people who participated in this study took part in the NGOs' HIV prevention intervention, and were purposively identified by the NGO programme staff. Purposive sampling was utilised as data were required from informants most likely to provide responses that best help the researcher understand the research question at hand (Neuman, 2006; Creswell, 2009). Participants were selected based on their reputation of being willing to engage in discussions and openly expressing their opinions. Effort was made to ensure the participation of both boys and girls in the group discussions.

Data collection

Data were gathered over 12 months between October 2007 and September 2008 through 4 focus group discussions/interviews (FGDs). All dates, times and venues were agreed at the convenience of the participants. FGDs lasted about two-and-a-

² The detailed methodology of the larger research project is described in Kareithi and Flisher (2007; 2008) and Kareithi and Lund (forthcoming-under review-b).

³ See Kareithi and Flisher (2009a: 22) for a summary of HIV prevalence by health sub-districts between 2001 and 2006 and the average percentage over this 6-year period in the Cape Metropole, Western Cape Province, South Africa.

half hours. Participants were provided with refreshments at the end. All discussions were conducted in English, save one conducted mainly in isi-Xhosa by a bilingual colleague who accompanied the researcher.

The questions asked to participants relevant to this article were:

- What are the not so good things in your community that do not help young people with HIV prevention?
- What do you dream should be in your environment to help young people with HIV prevention?

To start off each FGD participants were requested to either draw a map of their community or a picture of things in their community which are useful or not useful in helping young people with HIV prevention. It is worth mentioning that after a pilot test conducted earlier, drawings were incorporated as a methodological tool. The task of drawing presented an opportunity for the participants to work as a team, and proved to be an effective technique that engaged participants in a fun activity. The drawings were a starting point for the researcher's discussion and engagement with young people. Once done, the young people gave feedback by talking to the researcher about their drawings and explaining what each meant. Further into the FGD, participants referred to the drawings to emphasis a point. As Creswell (2009) states, drawings proved to be creative, as they not only captured the attention and enthusiasm of participants, but also captured attention visually in data analysis and presentation. As far as possible the researcher refrained from making verbal reactions, facial expressions or other gestures that would inhibit the respondents, or encourage particular responses (Rea and Parker, 2005).

Data management and analysis

Three of the four FGDs were recorded and transcribed in English, and one was translated from isiXhosa into English. All drawings were photographed. Data were subjected to thematic analysis based on the aggregated evidence (Yin, 2003; Flick, 2009) and sub-themes identified through emersion in the data (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008). The qualitative software programme, Atlas.ti version 5.2, assisted with data management and analysis.

Ethical approval and considerations

Ethical approval for the research was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Health Sciences Faculty, University of Cape Town⁴. Further clearance was granted by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health HIV and AIDS Committee, which reviews HIV and AIDS health services research in the public sector.

To address concerns about young people participating in research, various safeguards were built into the design. First, participation was voluntary and informed consent was obtained from young people and their parents/guardians. A cover letter and parental/guardian consent forms were disseminated in advance to all identified young people. Only those who obtained duly approved consent forms participated. Second, as informed consent can contribute to the empowering of research participants (Glesne, 1999), the researcher explained the project to the young people and asked if the topic mattered to them. Their contribution to the research and how the information collected would be useful was explained. Over-and-above the written parental/guardian consent, the researcher sought verbal assent from all participants. This increased their willingness to engage in the discussions and consent to recording the sessions. Participants had the option to leave the discussion at any time, although none of them did. Participants were further requested to carefully listen to others, to respect everyone and to recognise there was no wrong or right answer, as all comments and drawings were important to the researcher. Thirdly, the researcher utilised 'youth-friendly' approaches that encouraged young people to relax and reflect. The approaches incorporated the laddered technique, designed to make respondents relax and not feel under pressure before asking more intrusive questions (Price, 2002). This was complemented with two stages of the appreciative inquiry approach; discover what is working, and dream about the ideal (Cooperrider and Whitney, 2000; Thatchenkery and Chowdhry, 2007). Finally, participants were assured of confidentiality. Therefore, throughout this paper, the names of the individuals associated with the verbatim quotations were omitted.

Results

As **Table 6.1** shows, a total of 39 (14 male and 25 female) young people (YP) between 13 and 18 years-old participated in the FGDs. Participants lived in Gugulethu/Nyanga (GN), Khayelitsha (Kh) and Mitchell's Plain (MP).

⁴ Formal approval was granted on 14th September 2006, REC REF: 353/2006.

Table 6.1: Research participants, locations and services received

FGD	Number of participants by gender (F = female; M = male)	Geographical area	Service sites location	Main type of services from NGO
1	12 (9F, 3M)	Mitchell's Plain	Schools	Peer education and life skills; community service such as visits to children's homes; public information campaigns; and annual theatre performances of drama, songs and dances.
2	12 (7F, 5M)	Khayelitsha	Schools, and office hall	Peer education; community awareness raising through Community Action Teams (CATs); and public information campaigns.
3	10 (5F, 5M)	Gugulethu/Nyanga	Schools and community centres	Life skills training during soccer/football and basketball coaching sessions; and public information campaigns during league matches.
4	5 (4F, 1M)	Khayelitsha	Schools and NGO youth centre	Peer education and life skills; and access to youth friendly services such as Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) and computer training.

All participants were school-going young people, as the study NGOs work in partnership with schools. The sites of service delivery and nature of services rendered had some variations (see **Table 6.1**), though all interventions focused on peer education and life skills training. The sessions were mainly provided after school hours, hence learners⁵ made an extra effort to participate, over and above their school work and other commitments.

Complex disenabling environment

Negative social norms

One of the most commonly identified constraints was negative social norms. In all FGDs, participants described how negative peer pressure shakes one's stand, despite knowledge about HIV and AIDS.

Your friends are pressurising you like, 'Do it!' And you think, 'I'm going to try it out because all of them are doing it'. (YP-MP)⁶

If you [are] talking to a boy and say, 'You should use a condom', they will say, 'No! Negative talk...you can't eat a sweet with a wrapper on'. (YP-Kh)

⁵ In South Africa, school going children are also referred to as learners.

⁶ Quotes are presented in this style: *The quote*. (Data set, i.e. young people (abbreviated to YP) – Health sub-district, i.e. Gugulethu/Nyanga (GN); Khayelitsha (Kh); and, Mitchell's Plain (MP) where the participants lived). In some cases, extracts of the transcripts are included to enhance illustration.

Additionally, being a virgin was considered a taboo.

They say if you don't have sex you going to be a virgin. A virgin would be a bad woman or girl who gets sick or some bad omen. (YP-GN)

Both boys and girls experienced peer pressure. Girls were reported to concede to peer pressure more easily because they were afraid of being abandoned. Boys were regarded as dangerous.

Girls can say, 'No.' But mostly they say, 'Yes you can do it'. If some say no, [the] boy [will] say, 'I don't want you'. And will leave you for another girl... If a girl says [to a boy], 'You can have sex with me', the boy will have sex. Boys are very dangerous! (YP-GN)

Boys who attempted to discourage their peers from having sex with girls were labelled and called names.

If boys want to have sex with a girl, and her boyfriend say[s] he doesn't want them to have sex with her, the boys are going to say that he's a loser. (YP-GN)

Participants reported that young people were exposed to drinking, smoking and drugs. As a result, some young people were seen by the participants as abusive, violent and appearing older than they actually were.

Figure 6.1: Drawing of effects of substance abuse



We've drawn a picture of a 17-year-old teenager, smoking in public—on the streets... his face looks very old, because of his lifestyle. (YP-Kh)

Participants further identified the media, particularly television, as a means of shaping the norms of young people. They reported the glamorisation of pornography and premarital sex.

Sometimes media show the wrong stuff, like people having premarital sex... The celebrities, they have many problems and difficulties with what they are going through. But we just try and be up to them. (YP-MP)

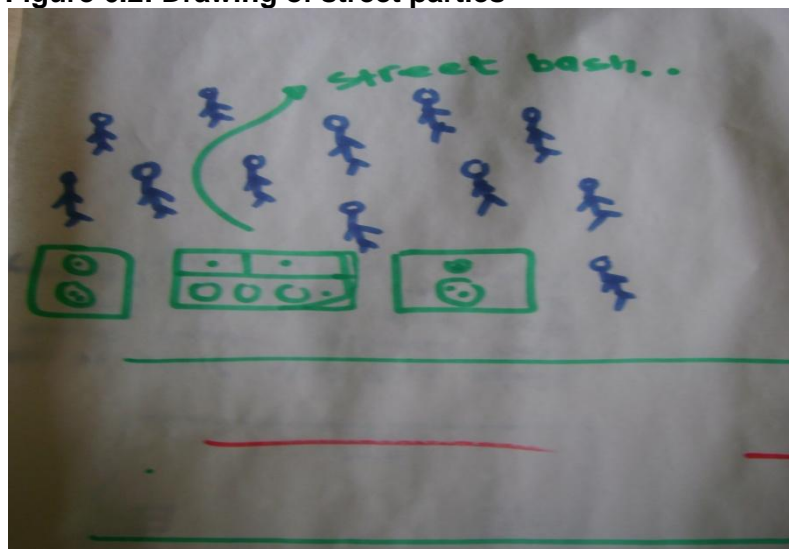
Inadequate recreational facilities

Parallel to this was inadequate access to extra-mural leisure facilities to keep young people occupied particularly after school. Young people hence engaged in activities such as sex, and alcohol and drug abuse.

Children also have sex and try new things to keep them busy. (YP-MP)

Exposure to substance abuse mainly occurred in open spaces in the community (referred to as 'yards' or 'corners'), local pubs/bars (referred to as 'shebeens' and 'taverns') and street parties (referred to as 'bashes').

Figure 6.2: Drawing of street parties



Most young people like street bashes and sometimes stuff which is not good... When you take drugs you get high, you don't know what you are doing...you end up in someone's bed, not knowing how you got there...you don't know what happened. (YP-Kh)

Young people knew where to obtain drugs (referred to as 'tik' and 'crack') and what they cost. For example, drugs were obtained at schools from fellow learners, bars, at street parties, and from drug dealers.

Shebeen, that's where the drugs is [are] and that's where they're using their time to do stuff like that. (YP-MP)

They buy it in the community... Some ZAR3 or ZAR8. Others about ZAR20⁷. (YP-GN)

Participants also reported that young people knew where drug dealers lived or operated from.

Drug dealer...they are selling the drugs. And then they [young people] go out there and come to smoke those drugs. (YP-GN)

However, there were reports that some young people were drugged without their knowledge.

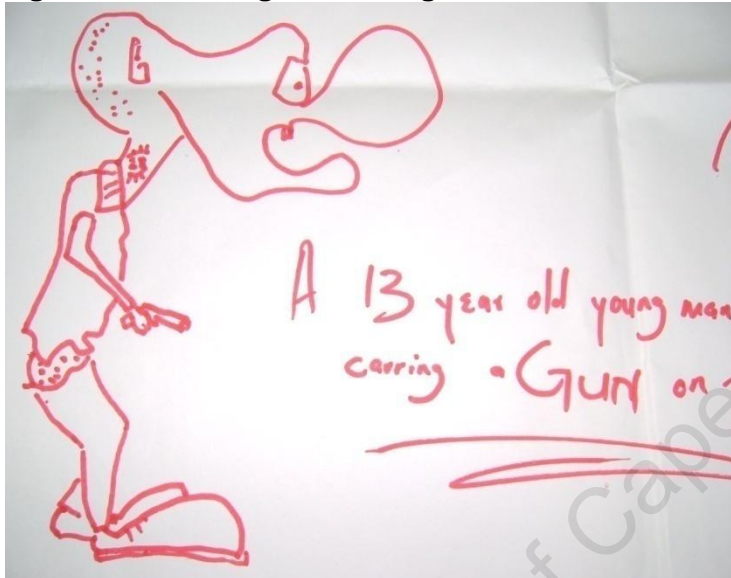
⁷ At the time of writing this article, the exchange rate was about USD1 = ZAR7.09; GBP1 = ZAR11.07.

Others buy silver bullets [drugs] and put it in your cool drink so that you want to have sex, but you don't know. (YP-GN)

Crime

Participants reported that teenagers also participated in crime.

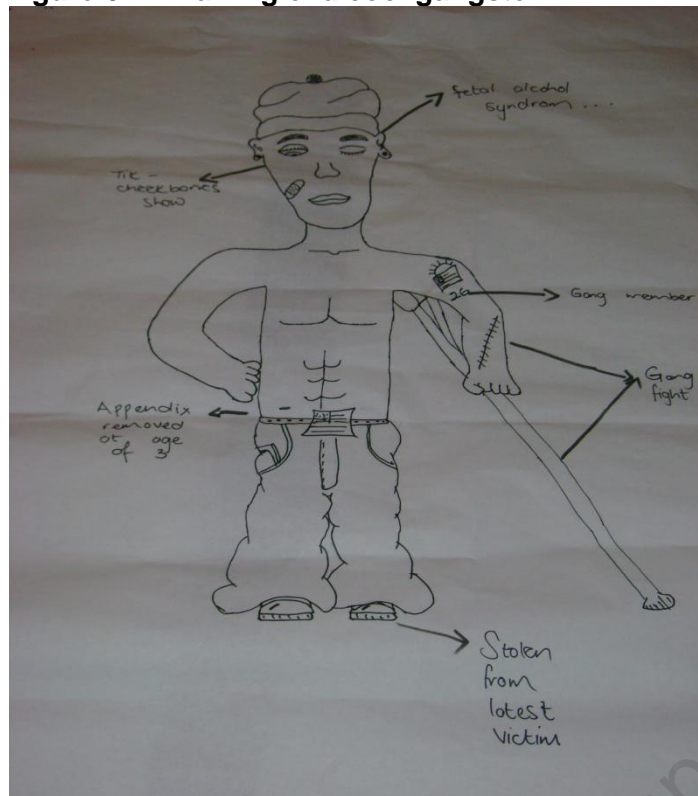
Figure 6.3: Drawing of a teenager in crime



This one 13-years-old is not shy, he is very abusive...and violent—you can see he's carrying a gun on the street. (YP-Kh)

In all FGDs, participants reported that gangsterism was common. Young people were under pressure to join gangs and adopt the 'gang culture'. A major cause of crime was violent activities by gangs, which contributed to increased insecurity in the community. Gangsterism was glamorised with gang members regarded as 'cool', although young people were aware of their engagement in violence and substance abuse.

Figure 6.4: Drawing of a cool gangster



He's wearing stolen shoes from his latest victim that he may be robbed or killed even. He belongs to gang because he has a tattoo. And he was in a gang fight so he got a bit crippled and he has got an old scar on his arm. And he is on tik [drugs] and he obviously lost weight because of that. (YP-MP)

Young people too were victims of crime, particularly gender violence. Some participants emotionally reported that they had seen one of their peers being raped on the way home from school.

Figure 6.5: Drawing of a young girl being raped



Participant: This man is raping the child and not using a condom. So this girl is going to be infected with HIV.

Researcher: And who is this here?

Participant: This is another guy.

Researcher: So there are two guys raping one girl?

Participants: Yes.

Researcher: Is this always happening in your community?

Participants: Yes!⁸⁸ (YP-GN)

Chronic poverty

Participants described many ways in which poverty has contributed to creating an environment that is not conducive to HIV prevention. Young people engaged in sexual activities for financial gain and survival. This was linked to minimal income in both adult- and child-headed households.

The problem is, in their homes there will be no money for food to eat. So now they try to make money out of it... Like a 10 year old girl sleeping with an old man for money to eat. (YP-GN)

Poverty contributed to the reason why some women engaged in prostitution. Participants reported that they often saw prostitutes seeking clients. Some young people admired the glamorous clothes prostitutes wear.

⁸ In a recent report, the South African Police Services (2010) confirmed an increase in crime, including sexual offences, against children.

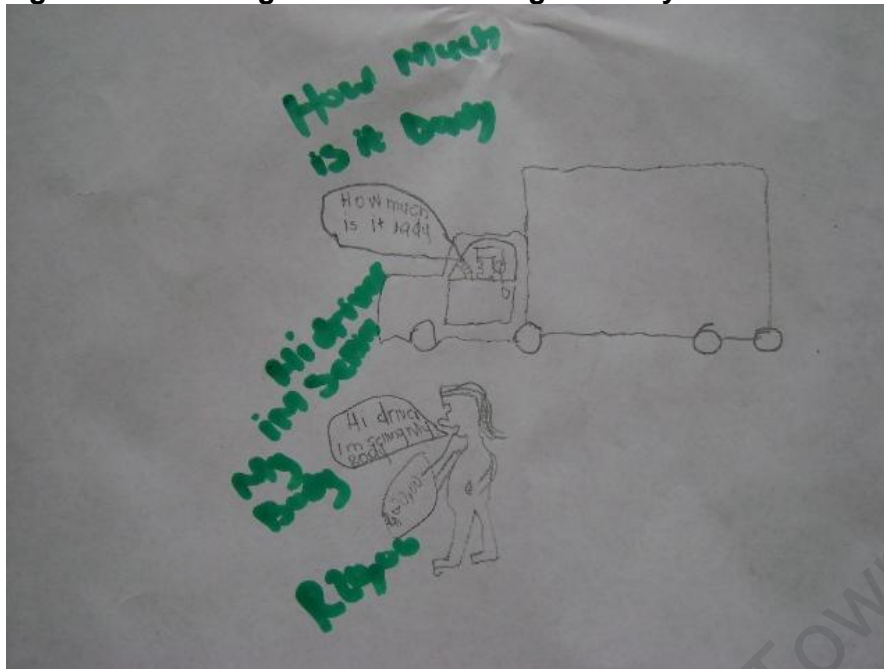
Prostitutes, they sleep with people just for the money... sometimes you see them working as prostitutes. We talk to some of them—their clothes are nice!
(YP-Kh)

Additionally, the financial gains were described as high and attractive, so some young people joined the trade. Some participants were able to detail the prostitution rates.

Prostitutes get a lot of money. A lot!... One round is ZAR500. Two rounds is ZAR500, others close to ZAR1,000. But there is a difference between a prostitute working for herself and one working for an agent. The difference is if you are working for yourself they won't give you the money that you charged. But if you are working for an agent, the agent will call you and say you have to meet this person and at this hotel. The money is not given to the prostitute directly, [it's] given to the agent because end of the month the prostitute gets. (YP-Kh)

Participants also reported seeing young ladies soliciting for sex with long-distance truck-drivers. Although this was also done for financial gain, the rates charged seemed significantly lower.

Figure 6.6: Drawing of a woman selling her body



Truck-driver: How much baby?

Woman: Hi driver. I'm selling my body. ZAR 20.00.

This young woman is selling her body for just only 20 rand to other men, so that when she's selling her body she's going to be infected with HIV because she is not using a condom. And this is not only one man that she sells her body to; there are many mens[men]. The truck-driver is going to Johannesburg then [returning to] Cape Town. (YP-GN)

Participants indicated that a major attraction for young people was the additional financial reward young women received from accompanying truck-drivers on a long-distance trip.

Participants further reported that young people too were at risk of being robbed, raped or killed for money.

Raping young people and killing and stealing, it is going on a lot. (YP-GN)

Inadequate parent/guardian–child relationships

Some participants emotionally indicated that inadequate communication and relationships with parents/guardians was a disabling factor. Inadequate parental supervision was commonly identified leading, for example, to exposure to pornography at home.

Parents they go to sleep 12 o'clock. Before they go, they don't say that children must go to sleep first. Now the children they are watching underage things in the TV. (YP-GN)

Abusive relationships contributed to some young people leaving home, exposing themselves to increased vulnerability.

Others are being ill-treated in their families through physical punishment. Then they decide to leave home and stay on their own, and their lives change. (YP-Kh)

Participants, however, indicated that even where relationships were good, parents were unable to talk to their children about reproductive health. This was attributed to fear, mistrust and believing that children were too young for such discussions.

Our parents are afraid to talk about HIV AIDS... When you say, 'Hey mom can you explain to me about sex', she will freak out! (YP-Kh)

Some indicated that parents were generally ignorant about HIV and AIDS; others passionately disagreed.

My mother is teaching in school; LO [Life Orientation]. Why she don't talk to us; an LO teacher? My mother is young. She don't talk to us about AIDS. (YP-Kh)

Inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders

Strikingly, participants identified some practices and remarks of leaders in the community and the country as adverse influences. The widely perceived inconsistent political will of government to tackle HIV and AIDS was further described as disempowering.

The [then] Minister of Health she did something very bad with the money...our money, South Africa, come on, and she's the Minister of Health! ...And taking a shower by Zuma!⁹ (YP-MP)

Improving the enabling environment

⁹ The then Deputy-President, and current President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, reported in a court case, where he faced rape charges, that he took a shower after having unprotected sex with a woman he knew was HIV positive to protect himself from infection (Thornton, 2008).

The researcher also sought participants' opinions regarding important aspects needed in their environment to help young people with HIV prevention. Some were despondent indicating nothing could be done.

I don't think we can prevent HIV from spreading because it's increasing every day and every year... What must happen must happen! (YP-MP)

Analysis, however, showed that many consensus views emerged, amid some contentious ones as detailed below. Suggestions that emerged from the FGDs were compiled into the following themes.

Continued education with critical thinking

Participants identified the need for continued education to improve knowledge on HIV and AIDS. Young people appreciated the knowledge and skills obtained mainly from home, schools and the NGOs. In schools, provision of computers was regarded as an additional means to access information on HIV and AIDS. Participants perceived that the study NGO interventions further contributed to motivating, empowering, and building skills in positive influencing and teamwork. It further increased their self-esteem through affirming them and providing new opportunities and experiences.

When we are there, we learn something we did not know before...when we learn, we are going to teach others. (YP-GN)

Some participants questioned whether the emphasis on 'abstinence, be faithful and use condoms', referred to as ABC, was adequate. Whilst recognising the importance of these strategies, they passionately argued that more reflection and critical thinking should be encouraged.

Think about whether you want to have sex or not...it is so important for young people to reflect. But we mostly get a message of condomise. (YP-MP)

Participants also dreamed that their voices would be heard. Generally young people were regarded as mere recipients of services.

...nobody asks us; if they asked us we would have told them. (YP-Kh)

Increased access to recreational activities

In all FGDs, one of the most highly recommended factors was access to constructive recreation and leisure activities to reduce boredom. Participants appreciated the unique educational and health interventions by NGOs, which used innovative youth-

friendly approaches and provided access to extra-mural activities. These included sports activities, performing arts, and community service (see **Table 6.1**).

Participants dreamed of increased opportunities to explore, identify their talents, and use their energy.

In my dream world, we need a school with a difference...where we encourage people not only to do school work...but we also show case our talents, and we can have plain simple fun! (YP-MP)

Participants appreciated the performing arts and sports skills they obtained. They were proud to have performed in well-known theatres and competed in league matches.

If you go and play in other different province—you see this tracksuit? ...then you get a tracksuit. Like hers. This girl is playing [basketball] in other different province. (YP-GN)

Participants further dreamed of increased functional recreational facilities in their community that young people could access. These included parks, swimming pools and other sports facilities.

Figure 6.7: Drawing of community park



And here, we have the [playing] ground. The park where children can play. It is important to play sports. (YP-MP)

Shopping malls were also identified as something some participants desired to access. However, whether malls were the best place for young people to be was the subject of heated debate. No consensus was reached.

Some participants further identified activities in church and other religious organisations as a way to keep occupied. Young people would not only spend time becoming more familiar with their faith, but would also participate in other fun activities such as singing in the choir.

Other youth change by attending church and they become saved. (YP-Kh)

Increased positively influential social norms

Participants described NGO facilitators as a source of positive social norms. They called for the NGO interventions to continue.

We need this [the NGO] influence in our life at school and show us the right way. (YP-MP)

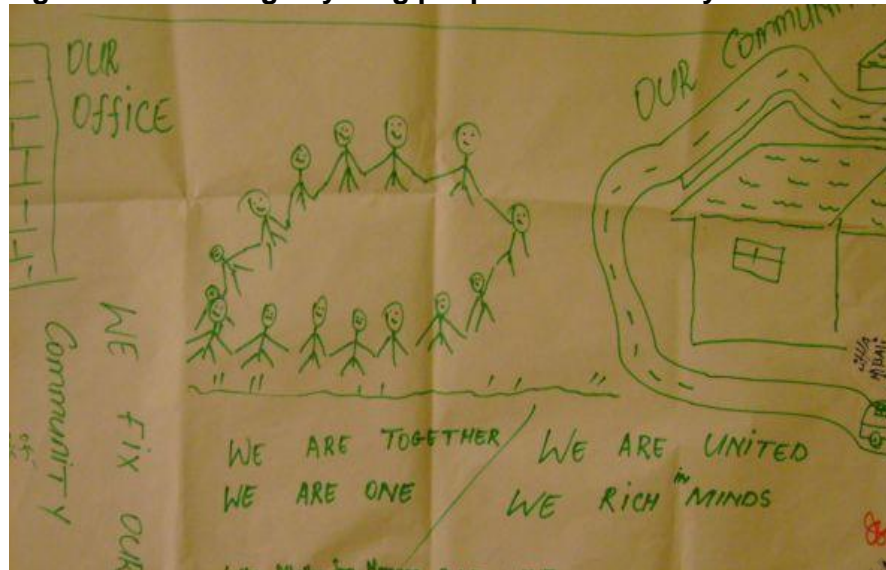
Participants perceived themselves as part of the enabling environment. They indicated that their participation in the NGO intervention made them valuable and influential members of the community.

We guide our fellow peers to make good decisions...we motivate others who are going through difficult times. (YP-MP)

It also depends on us. If I'm doing wrong things in my community, they'll see no difference. But if I'm good and I abstain, they'll also notice that something is different with me and say, 'This chap is different'. (YP-Kh)

Participants further perceived that they could link, unite and work with like-minded young people. This would not only involve peer-to-peer influencing, but also community mobilisation and awareness-raising.

Figure 6.8: Drawing of young people as community action team members



We see ourselves as being united...we work together to uplift our community.
(YP-Kh)

It further enhanced their future employability, as the NGO interventions had contributed to making them ambitious, influential professionals in the future. In turn, they dreamed of assisting other young people.

Figure 6.9: Drawing of a future professional



The debate about prostitution was contentious. Many participants called for an end to prostitution. However, others argued that prostitution was necessary, given the level of poverty in their community. The consensus reached was to reduce the visibility of prostitutes in the communities.

Stop prostitutes. Or legalise prostitution in South Africa. But if they do get legalised, they must get their own place; not be on the streets near our homes so not to influence youth because they get influenced easily. (YP-Kh)

Increased positively coherent HIV prevention messages

Participants dreamed of a critical mass of positive and coherent messages that were non-conflicting.

You know in my area, I wish I could build a big building and tell the people not to be influenced by others, but to stay focused... (YP-Kh)

They called on leaders in society to lead by example.

For example, if the pastor is corrupt, the whole church will be corrupt. If he's good, they'll also be good. So we should practise what we preach. (YP-Kh)

Participants further called on the private sector to join in creating an enabling environment. For instance, they dreamed of the business community imposing regulations that contribute to reducing young people's exposure to substance abuse, despite the potential reduction in their profit margins.

There are taverns that are safe. No drugs. No one under 23 years at shebeens. (YP-Kh)

Improved security

Participants dreamed of reduced crime, improved safety and a secure environment in their communities. A striking finding was that participation in the NGO interventions provided safety from crime; participation was an alternative engagement which seemed to prevent involvement in negative activities.

If you are not there, you are getting robbed already, or raped, or smoking drugs or doing drugs. But if you are there [at the NGO programme] you are safe, you are not going to get drunk, do drugs, you are not going to be robbed or killed or raped. (YP-GN)

Participants called for increased police surveillance in the community. They felt this should be done with community participation.

Police are working with community to make sure there are no street bashes. If there needs to be a party, they would be supervised by police. (YP-Kh)

Continued access to youth-friendly health facilities

Participants dreamed of continued access to health facilities. They identified hospitals and clinics as crucial sources of medical care and advice.

Clinics also have information about HIV and AIDS... The clinic is where to test [for] HIV and TB. (YP-Kh)

Improved parent–child relationships

Strikingly, participants passionately identified the need for improvement in the home-front, recognising the crucial role parents should play in informing and guiding young people. They dreamed of increased understanding and communication between parents and teenagers.

Parents must advise on HIV and AIDS more. Talk about it more... They say don't have sex. If raped this is what you do - then we know we must run to the clinic. (YP-Kh)

Parents mustn't be parents only, but be our friends; a person who I can share with. They must be good listeners, they mustn't jump to conclusions. They chase me away; [instead] they must listen to me. (YP-Kh)

Reduced poverty

Participants called for provision of a dining-hall at school. Apparently, the chronic poverty in the community meant that some learners did not have enough to eat. Participants recommended feeding schemes at school as a contributory means to deal with the hunger faced by many learners.

The eating room...if others don't have money they can [be] help[ed] and have lunch at school. (YP-MP)

We found that one NGO explicitly incorporates poverty relief in its HIV intervention efforts. This was a means to encourage the continued participation of young people through relieving some of the socio-economic barriers they faced.

Sometimes if you don't have clothes they [NGO] give you. (YP-GN)

Participants passionately called for increased access to gainful employment for adults in their communities. Access to alternative employment would contribute to reducing the need for and glamour of financial gains from prostitution. It would further contribute to reduced child-abuse.

I think have more jobs for the adults. Because we have adults who have no jobs and don't know what to do with their lives because they can't get active because they are old, so they just want to have sex with the younger ones.
(YP-MP)

Accessible employment opportunities would further provide young people with something to look forward to in the future.

Children also live in poverty because their parents don't have jobs. They don't know what to do, so they also think that they have nothing to look forward to. So then they also have sex and try new things to keep them busy. (YP-MP)

Discussion

The sixth Millennium Development Goal (MDG) calls for the halt of the HIV and AIDS pandemic particularly through increased effective prevention strategies. As young people bear the brunt of new HIV infections, attention on them is one strategic approach towards halting the spread of HIV (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007). The focus of this study on hearing the voices of young people has painted a vivid picture on influences of the social and economic environment within which participants live. We found evidence that young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities face several adverse influences. Key emergent factors were:

- Negative social norms;
- Inadequate recreational facilities;
- Crime;
- Chronic poverty;
- Inadequate parent/guardian–child relationship; and,
- Inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders.

Evidence suggests that the numerous disabling factors in the environment of young people contribute to adversely affecting their ability to build institutionalised compliance procedures for HIV prevention. More so, the young people's vivid awareness and detailed descriptions of the constraints they face begs urgent and concerted attention.

In addressing these constraints, participants indicated several ways in which the external environment must be improved to create a more conducive environment for primary HIV prevention among young people. Key factors that emerged were:

- Continued education with the opportunity for critical thinking;
- Increased access to recreational activities;
- Increased positively influential social norms;
- Increased positively coherent HIV prevention messages;
- Improved security;
- Continued access to youth-friendly health facilities;
- Improved parent–child relationships; and,
- Reduced chronic poverty.

These findings have several implications. First, whilst there is need for continued education to increase knowledge on HIV and AIDS and for continued access to youth-friendly health facilities, it is imperative that young people must be provided with the opportunities and skills for critical thinking, and challenged to regularly do so. Skills in critical thinking may assist young people withstand the forces of negative peer pressure. Breinbauer and Maddeleno (2005) argue that it may not be sufficient to persuade young people to change their actions through access to information and knowledge on unsafe behaviour and practices; instead, young people must be motivated to develop skills and have personal conviction of their capacity to make conscious choices about their lives. Evidence further shows that it is crucial that parents/guardians and any other concerned adults seek guidance in overcoming the feeling that HIV and AIDS should not be discussed with young people. Adults need to obtain skills to increase communication with young people, in an age-appropriate manner, regarding reproductive health. Furthermore, adults must adopt a more effective communication style, such as motivational communication which is a guiding rather than directing style (Mash, Mash and de Villiers, 2010).

Second, the finding that young people need extra-curricular and leisure activities indicates that mere delivery of educational and health interventions cannot succeed in isolation. It suggests that any HIV prevention intervention should encourage and provide the opportunities for young people to access recreational activities, whereby young people can explore and showcase their talents. Hence, a simple though striking and highly essential requirement is the need for increased access to functional recreational facilities, more-so in low resource communities. This is in

agreement with the finding of Wegner and Flisher (2009: 1, 6) who state that “leisure boredom” is “a factor contributing to risk behaviour in adolescents” as “lack of awareness of the benefits of leisure, and environments that offer limited leisure resources contribute to the perception of having nothing to do”. Our findings further suggest that continued motivation of young people to embrace safe behavioural practices and instil institutionalised compliance behaviour, must go hand-in-hand with enlarging their experiences, perspectives, dreams, aspirations and future opportunities.

Third, discussants not only called for positively influential social norms, but also for a critical mass of positively coherent HIV prevention messages both locally and nationally. It seems that whilst young people are bombarded with HIV prevention messages, many factors around them go against this communication. These factors are not only limited to individual behaviour, their families and peers, but also include practices of community members, media role models, and leaders at local and national levels. This is similar to findings by Allen and Heald (2004) who indicate that local and national-level leadership, and social compliance were crucial factors in HIV prevention.

Fourth, there is need to broaden the definition of an enabling environment. Evidence confirms the link between increased HIV incidence with poverty, boredom, unemployment, under-employment, violence, crime, and drug and alcohol abuse. This is in agreement with the findings of a review undertaken by UNICEF and the World Bank that there is a link between poverty and HIV and AIDS, and hence poverty reduction matters (Bonnell, Temin and Tempest, 2004).

One of the major objectives of South Africa’s National Strategic Plan is “to create a social environment encouraging more people to test voluntarily for HIV and, when necessary, to seek and receive medical treatment and social support” while upholding human rights (Republic of South Africa, 2010: 30). In addition to this objective, our findings reveal critical empirical evidence worthy of urgent attention by development practitioners, donors and policy makers. Results show that it is not enough to simply provide HIV prevention services to young people, and to encourage young people to work at individual institutionalised compliance behaviour. Evidence draws attention to the urgent need to improve the environment within which young people live, especially in resource constraint high HIV prevalence communities.

Social and economic policies need to address chronic poverty through targeted strategies aimed at increasing employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, providing food security, and improving safety and basic living conditions of vulnerable communities.

Furthermore, while embracing beneficiary participation by designing interventions 'for young people, with young people and by young people' has great value, this is also not enough. Parallel to these efforts, it is critically important to have up-to-date knowledge of the social and economic environment. The environment must constantly be reviewed and influenced in a bid to make it more conducive for HIV prevention among young people. In a similar vein, Campbell et al. (2007) indicate that it is essential to develop what they termed "HIV-competent" communities. Additionally, Breinbauer and Maddeleno (2005) indicate that environmental approaches should be incorporated in interventions for young people living in a complex environment facing multiple influences.

Fifth, participants perceived that an enabling environment includes positive influences from home, peers, schools, NGOs, clinics, hospitals and other health facilities, sporting facilities, churches and other religious organisations, media, and local and national leaders. This confirms that public action must come from a wide range of multiple agencies (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). It begs for integrated development, with additional radical measures, in order to build a more enabling environment. This echoes the approach by UNICEF to work with a wide range of partners and invest in children to "ensure future generations break out of the vicious cycle to poverty, violence and disease" (UNICEF, 2009: 2).

Sixth, evidence highlights that the environment within which young people live is a factor worthy of constant review in interventions on HIV prevention, and worthy of study in research from a social science perspective (Barnett, 2004b). It is high time that organisations strengthen their negotiation power and move beyond major donors' focus on changing behaviour, rather than changing context (Barnett and Parkhurst, 2005). There is need to ensure that behaviour change approaches, underpinning many campaigns, address the complex contextual factors through a developmental approach (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002). It further reveals that beneficiary participation, even by young people, is indeed a possible, practical and essential

means of understanding the external environment. This will contribute to ultimately enhancing participatory and sustainable development (Theron, 2008).

Methodological strengths and limitations

Participants in this study lived in low resource communities of Cape Town, hence generalising the findings to other areas of South Africa must be done with caution. However, the findings are likely to be relevant to other similar communities in South Africa, and possibly elsewhere in the world.

Strengths of this study are also notable. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first academic article in South Africa, in the field of development management, to explore the social and economic environment in the context of HIV prevention from the perspective of young people. The study was also unique, as it utilised an innovative approach of drawings during group discussions not only to assist young people to relax and work as a team, but also as an instrument of data collection that enriched the discussions and analysis. It is noted that while this methodology in a broader context is not unique, in the context of NGO management literature and NGO performance research, it is the first of its kind to the researcher's knowledge. Furthermore, this study provides the crucial evidence that although beneficiary participation is a difficult concept to practice, it can successfully be utilised in development management research. A wealth of data can be generated by encouraging reflection and incorporating the voices of beneficiaries; young people in this case. This is similar to other research findings that engaged with children as research participants (Dockett and Perry, 2007). However, less has been done to work with young people on research projects than with them as research subjects. This paper contributes to demonstrating ways of researching with young people. It provides evidence of how the voices of young people can be incorporated, utilising a mixed method approach, to provide deeper insight into young people's perceptions and experiences. This approach can be replicated in similar research and management of development interventions.

Conclusion

This study uniquely utilised FGDs and drawings with young people to examine influences of the external environment from the perspective of young people who live in low resource high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities.

The findings paint a lucid picture of young people's perceptions of their environment. It extends available understanding by describing the challenges young people face in institutionalising HIV prevention messages. The data confirm the importance of including the voices of beneficiaries not only in intervention design and implementation, but also in assessment. It further confirms that young people have the ability to review and critique issues. Development practitioners, evaluators and researchers are, however, cautioned to utilise youth-friendly methodologies.

What is evident from this study is that young people experience numerous negative influences in their environment. This reveals the important need for interventions to urgently address the adverse socio-economic environment, as an additional, crucial and complementary means of enhancing primary HIV prevention among young people. Positive elements in the environment such as education and health facilities, sports, drama, performing arts, and other extra-mural facilities need to be increased, be equipped and functional. Parallel to this, disabling factors such as adverse social norms, crime and poverty need increased attention. The multiple links of adverse elements to chronic poverty, leads us to suggest that a broad ranging integrated strategy is needed, with poverty eradication as a key component, if we are to meet MDG 6, and reduce HIV infection among young people. It is evident that HIV prevention can no longer be left in the hands of young people, families, schools, NGOs and religious organisations. Advocacy and work for the creation of a more conducive external environment must be taken up by numerous agencies. This should include the wider community, local, provincial and national governments, development agencies, media and private firms. Furthermore, policy makers and donors explicitly need to support the effort of development agencies to incorporate influencing the external environment into their HIV prevention interventions. Failure to do so, at local, provincial and national levels, will simply perpetuate the delivery of HIV prevention services in an adverse environment; hence choke efforts in South Africa to make significant milestones in HIV prevention.

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University of Cape Town

Chapter 7. Influencing the external environment for HIV prevention among young people: Fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to examine strategies of, and constraints to, influencing the external environment within which NGOs operate was fully hers. She collected and analysed the data, and wrote the paper. Prof Flisher provided supervision during field work. Prof Lund provided further supervision by ensuring findings were clear and the paper was written in the format required by the journal.

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Abstract

The external environment of an organisation influences the desired goals of that organisation and its interventions in many ways. However, strategies for influencing the external environment to create a more enabling environment for Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are often inadequately addressed. This paper draws on an earlier larger empirical multiple-case study conducted in 2007-2008 of four NGOs that provide HIV prevention services to young people living in low-resource high HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa. In the earlier study, young people reported that the external environment hampered their ability to institutionalise HIV prevention messages. This study explores how the sampled NGOs endeavoured to influence the external environment, and the challenges they faced. The findings show that NGOs practise a combination of strategies encompassing inter-organisational relationships, influencing policy and championing by example. Key constraints to influencing practices include fear of losing legitimacy as a service provider; inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity; perceived deviation from work; inadequate funding; conflicts over values and messages; and, focusing on individual behaviour and less on context. The trends that emerged reveal a critical situation. The development management task of influencing the external environment to create a conducive environment for HIV prevention seems to be constrained mainly as (a) donors focus on funding and monitoring activities they were interested in; (b) NGO effort is restricted to programme implementation based on agreed deliverables, and influencing was mainly confined to championing by example; and hence (c) influencing efforts to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention was left mainly to young people. This gives an impression that South Africa is, in the words of one interviewee, 'fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water'.

Keywords: development management; HIV and AIDS; multiple-case study; non-governmental organisations (NGOs); public action; public sphere; South Africa; strategic arena.

Introduction

In South Africa, young people aged 15 to 24 years bear the brunt of new HIV infections (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). This experience is similar to that in other countries (UNAIDS and WHO, 2009). The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) estimates that approximately 192 000 new infections occur per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). However, a recent report shows promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009).

The sixth Millennium Development Goal (MDG) calls for the halt of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, particularly through more effective prevention strategies. Development non-governmental organisations (NGOs)¹ have responded and emerged as crucial players from the onset of the epidemic (AIDS Foundation South Africa, 2009; AVERT, 2009; SANGONeT, 2009). A recent study shows that by 2007, 93 NGOs were providing HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). However, while there is increased recognition of the role NGOs play, concern over NGO performance remains (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b). Scholars argue that development managers need to be aware of the context in which they work and understand the factors that are likely to affect how they and their organisations perform (Johnson and Thomas, 2002). In the same vein, Bebbington (2005) posits that it is important to understand the environment within which NGOs operate, in order to shift the analytical burden from one of blaming to one of explaining.

The 'external environment' is defined as the arena of action of many development managers (Hewitt and Robinson, 1999). Scholars argue that "no organisation or project is simply operating within an environment; the environment is also acting within the organisation or project" (Hewitt and Robinson, 1999, p. 5). Hence, NGOs must intensify efforts to influence the external environment as it influences their performance; see chapter 2.

¹ The diversity of NGOs is a complex matter, not engaged with here. In this article, the term NGO is utilised as shorthand for development NGOs that are involved in long-term development work.

This argument seems to be particularly applicable to organisations with HIV prevention interventions for young people. Campbell, Foulis, Maimane and Sibiyi (2005) point out that the social environment influences the effectiveness of HIV prevention interventions. In a case study in KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa, they found that the effectiveness of HIV prevention was undermined by limited networking amongst various players such as NGOs, health, welfare and education representatives and local community leaders and groups. They further point out that these difficulties are entrenched by poverty, unemployment and crime, together with the exclusion of young people from local and national decision making (Campbell, *et al.*, 2005). This is similar to findings of recent study that focused on the perspective of young people; see chapter 6. The study highlighted several key adverse influences of the social and economic environment on young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa. The environment hampered the ability of young people to institutionalise HIV prevention messages through negative social norms; inadequate recreational facilities; crime; chronic poverty; inadequate parent/guardian–child relationship; and, inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders. Other studies in Africa, which examined transition to first sex, have similarly found that environmental factors play a key role (see, for example, Mathews, *et al.*, 2009; Kabiru, *et al.*, 2010; Reddy, *et al.*, 2010). These study findings point to the complexity of social change, which echoes earlier sentiments of the need to ensure that behaviour change approaches addressed complex contextual factors through a developmental approach (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002).

The concept of development management places emphasis on organisations directing effort to achieve ‘external social goals’ (Thomas, 1996), an approach that is particularly pertinent in the complex environment of HIV prevention. Development managers therefore must understand the external environment within which their organisations operate, and apply various strategies for engaging with this environment, so as to influence it in a bid to enhance performance and achieve their set development goals. In the light of these arguments, a case can be made for research that takes a broader analytical look at the external environment of development interventions, and examine the strategies of organisations to influence that environment. In this paper, we examine the external environment of four development NGOs and focus specifically on the ‘strategic arena’. According to Robinson and Thomas (2002, p. 7) the concept of ‘strategic arena’ is “a way of

thinking about the area of concern in which particular interventions are situated. A strategic arena will be defined more or less broadly in terms of geographic coverage, sectoral scope, and range of stakeholder involvement... if those involved in particular interventions take a strategic perspective it will imply considering their involvement in relation to other stakeholders' actions and other possible interventions, in other words as part of their general stance within that whole arena".

Theoretical framework

We used the theoretical concept of development management as defined by Alan Thomas (1996; 1999). Briefly, development management is a form of management with several features that distinguish it from what Thomas terms 'conventional management' (Thomas, 1996, p. 102). Conventional management focuses on getting the work done by the best means available hence meeting set goals by coordinating internal organisational resources. In contrast, development management extends effort beyond internal organisational goals towards intervening in and influencing social change processes, where there are multiple actors, and goals and interests are subject to value-based conflict. Effort of development managers must be directed to the public sphere aimed at meeting external social goals to improve the quality of people's lives (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). Development management is thus embedded in public action and includes the effort of the state, NGOs, community groups, international development organisations, aid agencies, media, and the private sector, among others.

Building on the above, development management literature identifies two broad paths towards influencing the external environment of development organisations. The first is based on the importance of inter-organisational relationships (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000, p. 4-8). The second path involves influencing policy making within one's own agency or the wider public (Thomas, Carr and Humphreys, 2001, cited in Robinson and Thomas, 2002, p. 37). The summarised definitions of various strategies are set out in **Table 7.1**.

Table 7.1: Strategies to influence the external environment

1. Inter-organisational relationships	Definitions according to Robinson <i>et al.</i> , (2000, p. 4-8)
Cooperation	Refers to working voluntarily together based on consensus, camaraderie/solidarity, community/ compromise. It brings together diverse interests to build into a whole new idea or approach. However, it frequently disguises power relations in the name of equality.
Coordination	A way to bring together disparate agencies to make their efforts more compatible (in the interest of equity, effectiveness and efficiency). However, there is power (used or abused) relationship in coordination associated with hierarchies.
Competition	Refers to competition for scarce resources, ideas, constituencies, values and definitions of needs. However, inter-dependencies between organisations can exist even when in competition with each other.
2. Influencing policy	Definitions according to Thomas, Carr and Humphreys 2001, cited in Robinson and Thomas (2002, p. 37)
Collaboration	Entails working closely with a particular target institution to try to achieve a direct change in its policies. However, it may imply accepting terms on which an issue is defined by the target institution.
Complementary activities	Projects or programmes are carried out independently of government or other decision makers. Success can oblige decision makers to change their policy to accommodate the new development.
Challenge / confrontation	Challenge (confrontation, opposition, including passive resistance) is also aimed directly at changing policies of a target institution. There need not be an actual physical confrontation, but an open challenge to the ideas and policies of the target institution.
Consciousness-raising	Involves campaigning work aimed at indirect influence over the long term through changing public opinion and norms.

Little research has been done to examine the strategies development organisations utilise to create a more conducive environment for their development interventions. Hence, there is little knowledge on the influencing strategies of development organisations, particularly in the context of HIV prevention. In this regard, this research sets out to analyse the strategic arena of HIV prevention among young people living in low resource communities in Cape Town, South Africa. Our objectives were to identify how NGOs influence the external environment in a bid to create a more enabling environment for HIV prevention among young people; to identify the underlying constraining factors to these influencing strategies; and, to make recommendations that can inform policy making on primary HIV prevention among young people.

Methods

This study was part of a larger research project on the development management of NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town; see chapter 5.. It explored how four NGOs endeavoured to influence the external environment in a bid to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young

people. The NGOs focused attention mainly on young people living in Gugulethu/Nyanga, Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain, which are communities of most need, i.e., low resource, high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence areas in Cape Town, South Africa (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). These communities were formerly designated for black Africans including so-called "coloureds" under apartheid. They are often characterised by high population density, unemployment, and contact crime such as common robbery, sexual offences and murder (South African Police Services, 2010).

The qualitative multiple-case study design was chosen as it facilitates deeper understanding than a large sample survey (Creswell, 2009), and provides more compelling and robust results than a single case study (Yin, 2003). The four NGOs were purposively sampled by a panel of experts. Each member of the panel of experts was purposively selected as they had several years of working with, evaluating or researching NGO programmes. Individuals had varied backgrounds ranging from management, humanities and social science, to medical and health sciences. They represented various organisations including the Adolescent Health Research Unit of the University of Cape Town (UCT); Health Systems Research Unit of the Medical Research Council (MRC); Networking HIV/AIDS Community of South Africa (NACOSA), which is a network of non-government and community-based organisations working to reduce the impact of HIV and AIDS in the Western Cape province, South Africa; the School of Public Health and Family Medicine of the UCT; and Southern Hemisphere, an international social and economic development consulting company. The sampled NGOs operated at different levels; one at community level, two nationally and one in the Southern Africa region. With each case, data were gathered from multiple sources, internal and external to the NGOs, namely: the NGO director; programme staff; a group of young people who participated in the NGO programme; a partner organisation; and, a donor.

The researcher developed a multiple-case study protocol with a different set of questions for each data set. Data were initially gathered from the NGO director and programme staff, who then purposively selected young people (both male and female), a partner organisation and a donor, from whom additional information was sought. Data were collected between October 2007 and September 2008. Individual

interviews were held with NGO directors, partner organisations and donors, while group discussions/interviews, with drawing activities, were held with programme staff and young people. Interviews were all conducted in English, save one group interview conducted mainly in isi-Xhosa by a bilingual colleague who accompanied the researcher. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in English, and drawings photographed. The group interview conducted in isi-Xhosa was translated and transcribed in English.

Data were thematically analysed across the cases based on the aggregated evidence (Yin, 2003), and sub-categories emerged from emersion in the data (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008). Analysis started with the main themes as defined in the conceptual framework of influencing, presented in Table 1. Additionally, new concepts were added to the framework as the analysis proceeded, through applying the inductive process of discourse analysis (Creswell, 2009). Atlas.ti version 5.2, a qualitative software programme, assisted with the management and analysis of the large volume of complex data obtained. A seminar was convened in September 2008 to which all informants were invited, along with some NGO academics, consultants, and practitioners. Preliminary findings were disseminated, initial interpretations verified and feedback sought.

The research design led to a collection of a large volume of qualitative triangulated data. The partner organisation and the donor data-set particularly emerged as a heterogeneous group. Partner organisations were a school, a clinic of the City of Cape Town, an NGO and a community group. Donors were provincial government departments, a national and international NGO, and an international aid agency. These diverse organisations represent diverse interests. For instance, a recent review of the literature highlights the diverse interest of donors; see chapter 2. International aid agencies, and development organisations that channel foreign aid, are largely driven by the agenda and priorities of granting foreign governments. National and provincial government departments seem largely driven by the local political interests prevailing at a certain point in time, which centre on politicians gaining massive approval from the populace.

Ethical approval for the research project was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Health Sciences Faculty, University of Cape Town². Further clearance was granted by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health HIV and AIDS Committee. All young people who participated in the research obtained duly approved parental/guardian consent in advance. Additionally, before each individual or group interview, verbal assent was obtained from all informants. Informants were assured of confidentiality, and that all personal identifying information would be removed from the data. Hence reference to them is only made by their data-set.

Findings

A number of diverse strategies for influencing the external environment were identified. First, those relating to inter-organisational relationships and influencing policy are presented. Thereafter, additional emergent strategies are presented.

Inter-organisational relationships

Cooperation

Cooperation emerged as the most preferred means of influencing. The multiple-case study NGOs formed partnerships with various organisations including other NGOs, schools, community groups, clinics, local and provincial government, and national and international development and aid agencies.

² Formal approval was granted on 14th September 2006, REC REF: 353/2006.

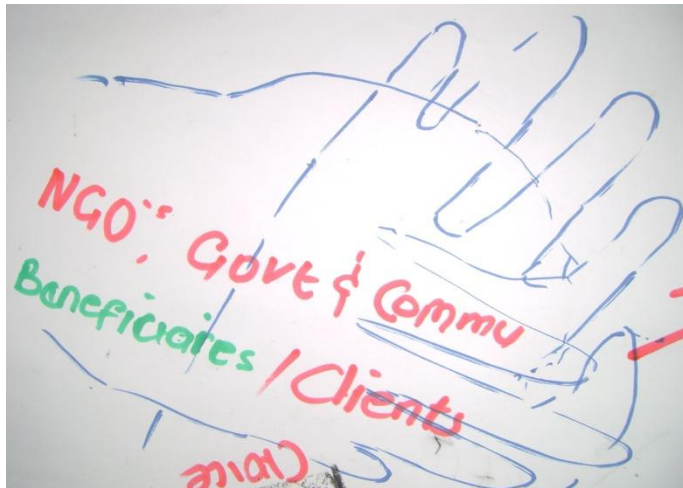


Figure 7.1: Drawing depicting NGO working with others

Here we have two hands...[one] hand represents [the NGO]...so [the NGO] is working together with other organisations, government and community at large. (Programme staff)³

In particular, the multiple-case study NGOs worked closely with schools and community centres, which served as programme delivery sites. This improved the ability of beneficiaries, i.e., young people, to access services.

NGOs reported that they cooperated with others to share and learn from them. Additionally, cooperation served as a survival tool, and means to increase reach and maximise potential impact on beneficiaries.

I don't want to reinvent the wheel...I don't believe in working in isolation. No way! You do get organisations that want to do things on their own that is why they don't survive. ...If you want your project to reach the maximum people then you need to start sharing with other people. Even if people run away with your concept that is also fine! It is for the benefit of the people. (Director)

³ Quotes are presented in this style:
'The quote.' (Data set)

The study NGOs further embraced cooperation as a means to solicit knowledge, skills and expertise they lacked in their organisation, and to complement their work.

We are not the expert when it comes to gender violence... To ensure our programmes or concepts have a positive influence on our youth, we are bringing in these organisations, to give us guidelines. (Director)

Cooperation was reported to occur based on the geographical area of operation. Others cooperated based on the approach utilised, such as developmental work through sports.

To take a step back and have the meetings you need to have and share best practices and learn from each other takes time, but it is more often than not worthwhile. What we have done recently is set up a forum in Cape Town where all the different organisations working in development through sport get together and meet regularly. (Partner organisation)

The study NGO staff perceived that the inclusion of high level government officials was advantageous, kept the initiative going, and provided a forum to address pertinent issues.

Another forum that worked well and is still working well is called the District Management Team...[which includes] the Director of HIV and AIDS for the Western Cape with the Department of Health. And I think having such a high level person involved on a grassroots level does make a difference. (Programme staff)

NGOs reported that cooperation with development and aid agencies was a means to secure more and regular funding. Others reported that their funding seemed to go a longer way in reaching more beneficiaries, as organisations pooled resources together towards a common public end.

It helped for organisations to run campaigns together. It helped resource mobilisation, where you didn't have to spend R5 000⁴ on an event, because you could bring maybe 2 000...[yet] reach a considerable amount of people.
(Programme staff)

Interestingly, community groups cooperated with NGOs, as a means of accessing funding for their initiatives.

As a new organisation, the Department [of Health] would not give me a job [tender]... Hence my partnership with [the NGO]. (Partner organisation)

Coordination

All the study NGOs endeavoured to play a coordinating role. For instance, they brought together school heads, teachers, parents, young people and their programme staff to work together in guiding, mentoring and influencing young people. NGOs further endeavoured to develop a 'young people centred approach'. They focused on surrounding young people with positive influences to guide them in building institutionalised compliance behaviour.

It's a triangle...and the kids need to be in-between. So when the school finished with them, they push them to us. We do activities and when we finish with them we push them to the parent, and the parent in the morning push them to the school...we want them to have an 'inner police' and we believe that this triangle with the child in the centre is important. (Director)

The study NGOs further reported that they coordinated forums and workshops with different partners, including corporate and academic institutions. The central purpose was to coordinate various efforts towards jointly enhancing the NGO's work while bringing in each partner's unique expertise and added value. For instance, corporates shared their skills in marketing and awareness-raising, while universities made contributions on monitoring and evaluation.

⁴ At the time of writing this article, the exchange rate was about 1USD = ZAR7.07; 1GBP = ZAR11.13.

Donors also played a coordinating role. For instance, government departments coordinated implementing NGOs, and organised regular meetings, which had a double function: a means by which government monitored their service providers; and, a means through which NGOs learnt from government and each other, enhancing their ability to be learning organisations. NGOs further appreciated better understanding of the crucial role they individually played towards the whole.

One concern by the Department of Health was that we were distributing among all of us about 500 000 condoms a month. And then it decreased. Why? So we could address it in that forum... At [the NGO] for example, the guy who ran the programme is no longer there, so he couldn't. So we really saw in one example how if one person goes then the whole structure falls down. (Programme staff)

The study NGOs reported that they appreciated participating in such forums, particularly where government officials actively and effectively participated, and NGOs felt that they were not alone.

I think if government is more accessible in the community, if they are involved in the community, it does make civil society and NGOs feel like we're not working alone. (Programme staff)

Furthermore, organisations were re-energised as they viewed the wider scenario and addressed a common course. Synergy seemed to emerge from sharing successes, challenges, and identifying common areas of improvement.

Competition

Some NGOs opted not to go into partnership with the provincial government; they sought local and international funding instead. Others put in a bid for a government contract, but were not selected as implementing agents. These NGOs ended up being regarded as the competition, as they seemed to provide a slightly different

programme than government implementing NGOs. Further, competition seemed to arise from NGOs guarding their programmes, in fear of their being 'stolen' by others.

Organisations, I think, by their nature are territorial and they are reluctant to share what they are doing with other organisations that are working in the same field. (Donor)

Competition also seemed to emerge even among NGOs that worked with government. This was at times regarded as detrimental or an inappropriate misdirection of energy.

I'm struggling with the NGOs' want to retain their identity, and their reach and their flavour. I am saying, "This problem is big". Unfortunately our response up to now has been a few steps behind the actual crisis. (Donor)

Donors also seemed to be a major reason for competition among NGOs, mainly brought about by competition for scarce resources. This seemed to be increasing as governments and international aid agencies intensified the practice of competitive bidding for their funding.

Government puts out a call for proposals from service providers... You have to convince us that you have a good idea and that it will deliver. (Donor)

Some NGOs reported that 'negative competition' adversely affected efforts towards HIV prevention. This was mainly attributed to the inadequate synergy and low quality of services provided by some organisations.

There's a lot of NGOs in Khayelitsha, a lot...we ask ourselves the question why is the HIV infection not dropping in Khayelitsha? ...I think it's a lot of competition and negative competition. There's not a lot of synergy and collaboration and integration. And also there's a lot of poor service delivery...a lot of NGOs in Khayelitsha, its necessary. But I think we need to really look at where we're working and how we're working. (Programme staff)

Influencing policy

Collaboration

Through partnership with government, two NGOs have the opportunity to endeavour to influence government policy, though they found it a challenge.

We've been working and influencing people at national level... The strategy that we find difficult is advocacy... (Director)

Complementary activities

Two NGOs that did not get government funding, endeavoured to influence policy on interventions for young people by designing an alternative innovative approach. They seemed to have succeeded in designing an approach slightly different from the one endorsed by government.

One of the big legacies they provide is a better understanding of how to reach youth and how to access youth and how to speak to youth in a language that they understand in sort of a creative methodology on fighting HIV and AIDS.
(Partner organisation)

Interestingly, these NGOs reported that they tried to avoid anything that would be branded as political.

We try everything possible to avoid any political discussions...we want to be continuing to lead in terms of innovations... (Director)

Challenge/confrontation

Three NGOs reported that they preferred not to directly challenge or confront policy makers, but did this through an NGO umbrella organisation. The study NGOs further reported the need to confront the local community and government leaders, for they considered South African leaders as key influential agents that should explicitly and actively participate in exposing practices that perpetuate the spread of HIV. However,

there was caution that the utterances and practices of some leaders contributed to sending conflicting messages.

People still believe in their cultural norms...sleeping with virgins will get them cured... We need people in high places to expose this. And this is why Thabo Mbeki [the then President of SA], the leadership of this country, they must have a more rigorous campaign to expose... How can we have it when someone takes a shower? (Programme staff)

The reference to 'taking a shower' is related to an incident in which the then Deputy-President, and current President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, reported in a court case (where he faced rape charges of which he was cleared) that he knew the woman he had sexual intercourse with was HIV-positive but chose not to use a condom; instead he took a shower to protect himself from infection (Campbell and Gibbs, 2008; Thornton, 2008).

Consciousness-raising

Two NGOs perceived that they had influenced some government policy through awareness-raising, for example raising recognition of the importance of developing young people.

So my emphasis was much more really on how do I assist people in strategic thinking and positions to have a different attitude towards youth development? ...Many people are now talking about youth development. (Director)

There also seemed to be emerging signs of success in influencing government to agree to integrate recreational activities into HIV prevention interventions.

We have moved beyond the formal taught curriculum. It is fairly broad in terms of its definition so it includes the cross curricula, the extra curricula, extra mural. And we are saying that there are ways of getting the message of HIV and healthy lifestyle across through playing rugby or singing in the choir. (Donor)

At a local community level, three NGOs reported that they conducted public information awareness campaign activities to influence public opinion and norms. There was also increasing effort to intensify community participation and ownership towards changing norms and values.

This complex social problem around HIV does not belong to us as an organisation. It belongs to the community, and so we try to get it back to them to solve; we really just facilitate the process...it's a methodology to engage with the community in a conversational manner. (Director)

Champion by example

In addition to the ways of influencing through inter-organisational relationships and influencing policy, data analysis identified another means through which the NGOs influenced the external environment. This we termed 'champion by example'. Championing was done through various ways.

First, the study NGOs endeavoured to train a large number of young people as possible. As the HIV prevention messages are largely value-based, NGOs also trained a selected group of young people who were skilled and encouraged to positively influence their peers. Young people reported that they were passionate about the skills they obtained to influence their peers and the community at large. They further reported the need to continue influencing, to create a critical mass of positive, coherent and non-conflicting messages.

You know in my area, I wish I could build a big building and tell the people not to be influenced by others, but to stay focused and not to be careless about their lives, they must love themselves and not listen to what friends say. (Young people)

Additionally, NGOs endeavoured to scale up and reach more young people by increasing the numbers attending their programmes at the existing sites of service

delivery, and setting up additional service sites. Despite these scaling-up approaches, there was still need to reach more young people.

I'm not sure that they have influenced the landscape broadly... I do think if we are to make any kind of change with young people in South Africa, we have to look at scale...reaching maximum coverage. (Donor)

Second, the study NGOs endeavoured to influence through examples set by individual members of staff, particularly those who directly interacted with young people. Staff endeavoured to be role models and set positive examples to young people, their colleagues, and counterparts in other organisations.

Even me, as much as I am teaching them, I am being influenced. I am a good smoker, a good drinker, but 'ish', when I see that kid, I can't smoke. (Programme staff)

This seemed to have a multiplier-effect as some young people were happy to volunteer in the NGOs after they completed high school.

If they are not working, they come to [the NGO] to volunteer because they want to give back what they got. They want to give it back to the younger children, because they were also that age when they met [the NGO]. (Donor)

Third, the study NGOs encouraged and equipped their programme staff to be able to keep young people active even outside of school, reducing participation in risky behaviour.

In a way it's a movement...we get the kids to be kids and work with kids on a daily basis...each [programme field staff] have to have equipment at his house because they getting the door knocked on the weekends at 7:00, 8:00 in the morning for the balls to go and play. (Director)

Fourth, the study NGOs were examples to policy makers and donors through developing 'youth-friendly' innovative approaches. As detailed above, this was mainly

achieved through incorporating fun activities, such as sports, performing arts and community service into their HIV prevention programmes.

Constraints to influencing

This study found that NGOs experienced several constraints to efforts to influence the external environment. These seemed to give an impression that South Africa has not yet done enough regarding HIV prevention. One partner organisation lamented:

We all feel that with HIV we are trying to fight a forest fire with teaspoons of water. (Partner organisation)

The key emergent constraining factors are detailed below.

Fear of losing legitimacy as a service provider

There seemed to be an awareness that NGOs have been on the forefront of addressing HIV and AIDS.

From the word go, a lot of work has been done by civil society structures. I think it is particularly relevant when it comes to the issue of prevention, because Department of Health is not well placed to sort of reach the kinds of audiences that needs to be reached...NGOs become critical if we are going to be able to attain the kinds of results that we would like to attain or at least halt the spread of this epidemic. (Donor)

However, influencing activities, particularly influencing policy making, was perceived as “political.” NGOs reported a general fear of potential adverse repercussions from engaging with anything that had a political connotation. This fear seemed to resound in many of the NGOs, and not just those receiving funding from government.

We try everything possible to avoid any political discussions. (Director)

In cases where this stand was that of the founding director, it resonated to the rest of the NGO over years.

That's been a sensitive issue...there was an original sensitivity in [the NGO] around advocacy. Particularly from the previous CEO, who did not want to get involved in politics...that was always a 'no-go' area...he still didn't want to get involved in any advocacy or policy work...we don't have an explicit strategy or focus on advocacy or policy issues. (Director)

The study NGOs further reported that they were afraid of 'falling from grace to grass' and being excluded from the 'inner circle'. Hence, NGOs tended to be cautious about influencing their external environment.

Inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity

NGOs acknowledged that influencing the environment required knowledge and skills to be able to examine the wider public arena in which they operated. However, these were reported as lacking in organisations.

Lack of skills. One of the things I have picked up...they [staff] don't have skills in advocating and lobbying. (Director)

Influencing was further viewed as a domain for more qualified staff.

We want to be continuing to lead in terms of innovations. So once we have in place a curriculum manager, we want to try to influence policies at government level. (Director)

It was further reported that at times government seemed sceptical about the role of NGOs; hence NGOs had inadequate space to operate, let alone to be influential.

NGOs are no longer what they were pre-1994 [independence]... NGOs [are now reputed to] subvert government policy because of donors... There is not a lot of government support for NGOs...but the truth is that these

organisations are doing what we are unable to do but we don't support them in doing what we should be doing. In fact we criticise them, we try to create policies to try and keep them out of our schools or to control them in ways which kill the creativity they have, the ability that they have to innovate.
(Donor)

Some programme staff felt that government was better placed to steer and coordinate public action on HIV prevention, and reported that they appreciated participating in forums coordinated by the provincial government. Unfortunately, the momentum seemed not to have been maintained, attributed largely to a change in government officials. This resulted in a lack of opportunity to influence.

The Department of Health, they have tried. They started this forum...it really helped when it started, but it just fizzled out...there was a change in management...[they] need to get someone who's passionate about networking to really drive it. (Programme staff)

However, an international aid agency felt that NGOs missed available opportunities to participate in influencing activities.

I think [the NGO] needs to be part of the national discussion, the HIV prevention discussion for South Africa. They need to participate more fully and openly...There are forums already... NGOs who want to participate don't need a donor to tell you to participate. (Donor)

Perceived deviation from work

The study NGOs regarded influencing activities as deviations from their work. This reflected that influencing was not explicitly embedded into programme implementation and monitoring practices.

It is tough unfortunately because you are always finding yourself buried in the day to day work you have to do. (Partner organisation)

NGOs confirmed the tendency to focus on delivery based on documented contractual agreements with donors. It seemed that more emphasis was laid on service delivery for survival, not just for the organisation but also for employees.

NGOs live from day to day. Focus on how we can survive, than thinking beyond how we can change the world. (Director)

It was further reported that a great deal of time and energy was devoted to motivating and strategising for organisations to attend and actively participate in the forums.

It takes a very long time for one to set those meetings and we've had to use lots of tricks...beginning of the year we book all the meetings until the end of the year...we make it very clear what those meetings are...everybody has got to be represented. (Partner organisation)

Inadequate funding

NGOs continually faced financial constraints, hence endeavoured to meet their targets and earn a good reputation among their donors. This was crucial to NGOs as it seemed to attract additional funding from other sources. However, secured funding seemed inadequate compared to the need and was inadequate to sufficiently deliver the designed programmes.

[The NGO] are a perfect example of operating on a shoe-string budget, and they work with such low resources and yet try and have a massive scale in terms of who they reach. (Partner organisation)

Additionally, NGOs with innovative approaches seemed to struggle to get funding particularly from government and international aid agencies.

So a funder will tell us, "The [donor] doesn't have money for that". And so that's the tragedy and the shame, it's that the best practices are always going to be at the mercy of who decides where the funding goes. (Director)

Strikingly, government particularly seemed to fund a more 'traditional' approach than what young people desired. Young people reported appreciation of programmes which incorporated recreational activities such as performing arts, sports or community service. They desired increased opportunities to focus on exploring their talents and utilising their energy.

In my dream world, we need a school with a difference...where we encourage people not only to do school work...but we also show case our talents, and we can have plain simple fun! (Young people)

However, government departments seemed not to fund such interventions.

When we started...we put the word out via a number of different networks... We had many organisations that responded and we learnt pretty soon that...organisations that were for instance using dance or music...sports even - as a vehicle for influencing youth around their sexual and health behaviours, that many of those things...weren't holistic peer education per se. So we got rid of those organisations. We excluded them from the next phase. (Donor)

Furthermore, NGOs were aware of the competitive funding and accountability context within which they operated. Hence they were cautious about deviating from contractual agreements. Some government officials confirmed the perception that their funding was inadequate to meet deliverables in the contractual agreement.

We can only afford x number of schools...[and] about ZAR60 000 a school, when we know the cost should be about ZAR120 000 a school. (Donor)

However, government emphasised the need to hold NGOs to strict accountability based on agreed goals and activities in the contractual agreement. This was done to protect their interests and tax-payers' money.

As funders, donors, we have to be careful that we are not sponsoring something that has very little to do with our own interests...we have to be very clear that the funds they receive from us are specifically for that purpose. (Donor)

Further funding constraints were attributed to HIV prevention not being the core business of some government departments.

So we expect more of [the NGO] than we are actually paying...if it were tendered would probably cost us four or five times more, which we can't afford because our very own department says, "We don't see the real value of why you are doing this". ...it is not seen as core business; that is part of the problem. (Donor)

Hence inadequate funding was allocated to HIV prevention.

We have a department that says, "Well you get a conditional grant...you don't need any more money from us thank you very much". So our total investment... per child is R13.80 for the year, to ensure that they never become HIV positive...would amount to about R150 over their 12 years of schooling... It's not good enough. That's hopelessly inadequate, but nobody is saying anything about it. (Donor)

Additionally, influencing seemed not to be a component funded by donors, whether government or development and international aid agencies. Hence, engaging in influencing activities implied a potential drain of the scarce resources required for service delivery.

We do that with other partners whose entire programme is to influence policy, to work at the policy level... But [the NGO] isn't one of those programmes that we support in that manner. (Donor)

Conflicts over values and messages

All informants reported that influencing, in the context of HIV prevention, was value based and there was need to stand by one's values.

We actually promote a values-based message...and that is why education is such an important vaccine really. (Donor)

Making a difference is a challenge because you need to change yourself first. We have let go of many things. We are missing parties, we are missing nice time. Friends are in the tavern [bar]. They are breaking up their backbones! I feel like I would love to be there, but what if I am there and my kids see me and still I am saying, "Self-awareness, don't go to those places you are going to get hurt". Am I practicing what I am teaching? (Programme staff)

However, it was reported that there were numerous sources of conflicting messages; for instance from some peers, NGO workers, local and national leaders. These conflicting messages made the sending out of coherent HIV prevention messages even more complex.

Another challenge is not practicing what you preach... Other facilitators from other organisations, I won't mention, they do take advantage of the kids. (Programme staff)

Really if South Africa is going to get HIV prevention information embedded in young people's minds, then they have to do it in a way that is national, which is why scale is so important, because everybody needs to hear the same message, that it is packaged in the same way so that you don't end up with different interpretations. ...Right now we don't have a commonality that we can all buy into... There's too many messages and there's so many different messages for different kinds of people that the ordinary person doesn't know which message is for them. (Donor)

Focusing on individual behaviour and less on context

Given the size of the epidemic, there was expressed need to accommodate alternative approaches, particularly through collective action.

A proper comprehensive response to the HIV problem would require a collective effort from everybody; not just government...This problem is big.

Unfortunately our response up to now has been a few steps behind the actual crisis. (Donor)

However, a tendency to leave HIV prevention in the hands of young people emerged. It seemed that influencing the broader social and economic factors that fuel the spread of the epidemic were ignored. Instead, greater emphasis was on individual behaviour, particularly young people adhering to HIV prevention messages.

...put that responsibility in the hands of those young people you are trying to reach. (Donor)

At the implementation level, it was reported that the NGOs largely focused on a selected group of learners and peer educators. Unfortunately, schools did not adequately facilitate a 'trickle-down effect' of the messages to other learners.

The unfortunate thing is that because of money constraints and availability of facilitators, [the NGO] can only target a small group per school. It is actually the school's job after that to take that leadership and disseminate it amongst the rest of the schools. (Partner organisation)

Discussion

The findings of this study have provided a clear picture of the influencing practices of four HIV prevention NGOs in Cape Town, South Africa. We found evidence that the study NGOs generally were not explicitly familiar with the development management strategy of influencing the external environment. Nonetheless, in reality they practised various influencing strategies in varied degrees, with a tendency to combine a variety of different strategies to achieve their development goals. Overall, the most preferred strategy was cooperation, coordination and championing by example, whilst open challenge/confrontation and competition seemed to be the least preferred. Evidence also shows that some NGOs seemed to have unintentionally engaged in influencing activities. For instance, two NGOs opted to maintain their independence and have no direct input into influencing. This was mainly attributed to

the fear of being considered subversive or activities being regarded as a deviation from contractual agreements. However, these NGOs seemed to have successfully engaged in unavoidable confrontation of ideas and practices. Policies of government and decision makers seem to be shifting as they appeared, for example, to recognise the importance of recreational activities and being more tolerant towards programmes that incorporated sports, performing arts and community service.

Evidence further suggests that NGOs faced various constraints to influencing their external environment. Principal factors that emerged were:

- Fear of losing legitimacy as a service provider;
- Inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity;
- Perceived deviation from work;
- Inadequate funding;
- Conflicts related to values and messages; and,
- Focusing on individual behaviour and less on context.

A number of trends were evident in this exploration of influencing practices that reveal a critical situation. A few are discussed below and summarised diagrammatically in **Figure 7.2**.

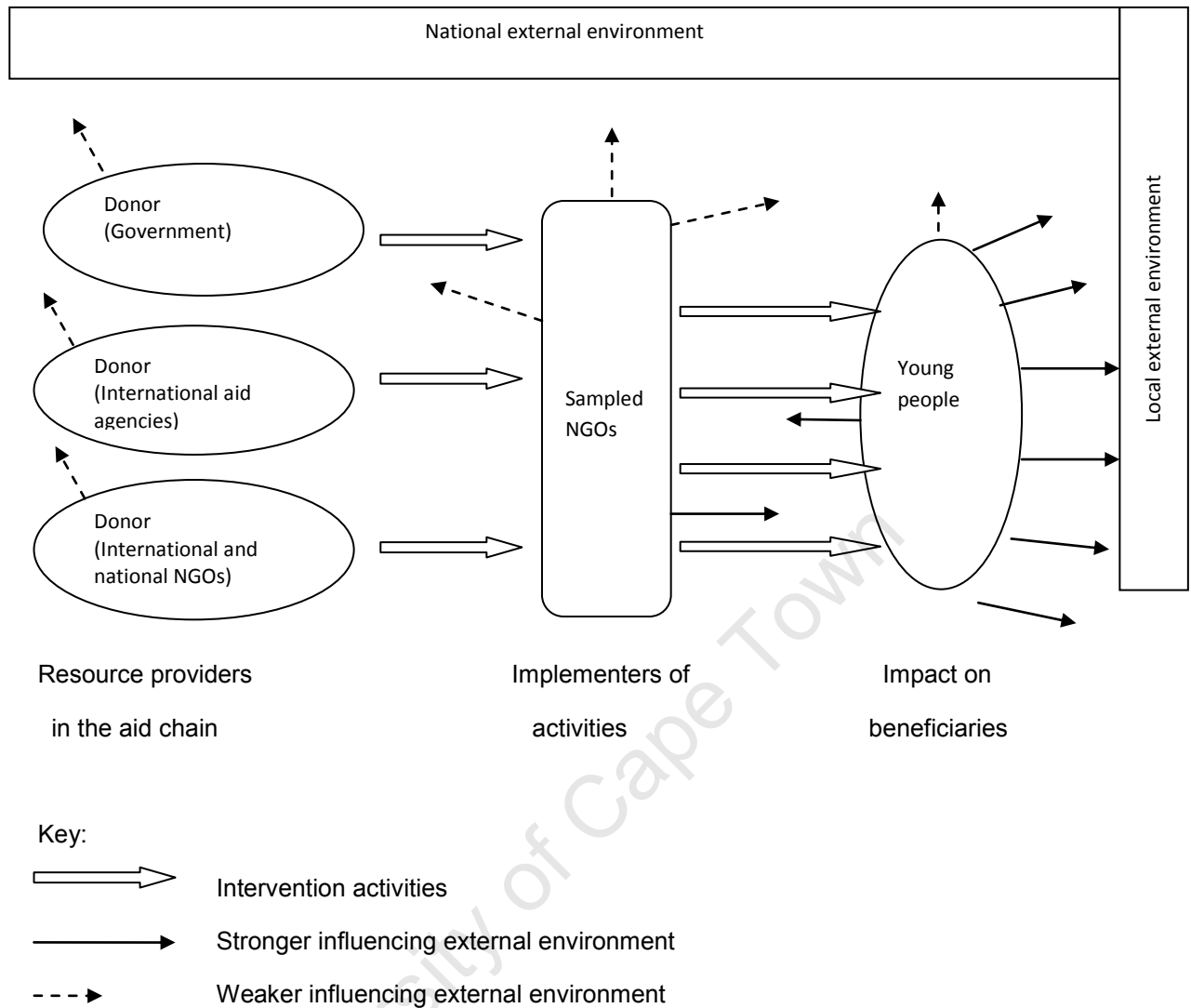


Figure 7.2: Trends from influencing activities

The aid chain illustrates that donors (including government, international and national aid and development agencies) funded the study NGOs to implement programmes, which should impact on the behaviour of young people. NGOs and their donors signed contractual agreements that clearly stipulate the services to be delivered. NGOs concentrated on effective programme delivery to increase young people's knowledge of HIV and AIDS and safe sex practices and enhance their influencing skills. Three NGOs made special effort to engage young people in sports, performing arts and community service. The selected group of trained young people endeavoured to influence their peers in their local communities. NGO contracts with their donors did not explicitly include analysis of the external environment and influencing it to create a conducive environment for HIV prevention. Hence, NGOs

have weak influence on the environment even at local community level. Donors also seemed not to explicitly and actively engage in influencing activities.

The evidence shows that there were several blocks to influencing. First, the way donors conceptualised their funding led a tendency to separate implementation from influencing activities. This is in line with Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) arguments that NGOs must simultaneously play the roles of service delivery and advocacy (policy influencing or formation), but donors tend to separate these roles. Linked with this, and due to resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003), the study NGOs tended to focus on meeting contractual agreements. Hence, the extended influencing potentials of NGOs seemed to be eclipsed by donor priorities, and limited by their fear of losing legitimacy.

Second, effort in HIV prevention interventions centred on enhancing the knowledge of young people on HIV and AIDS, and skilling them to positively influence their peers. This may have led to some behaviour change among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009), but has not necessarily created a large scale influential national effect. The argument that development managers must understand that “interventions directed towards external social goals also involves trying to influence the general policy arena of development” (Robinson and Thomas, 2002, p. 5), with community diagnosis and participation in policy development (Barnett, 2007; Campbell, Nair and Maimane, 2007; Nair and Campbell, 2008) seemed not to be in place. Thus the nature of the intervention activities mainly left young people alone to fight the battle with the external environment.

Third, evidence shows that there was a narrow definition of influencing. Apart from influencing young people, the study NGOs largely confined effort to influencing government, with little attempts at influencing the local communities. However, the strategy to influence the government faced blocks, as government is a major provider of resources to NGOs in South Africa. Hence due to the power donors derive from being resource providers, NGOs were cautious not to ‘bite the hand that feeds you.’ This constraint was heightened with some government officials being sceptical about NGO engaging in influencing activities. This creates a critical gap, which, if not

addressed, leaves an adverse environment for HIV prevention among young people. This is especially critical as young people living in low resource, high HIV prevalence communities reported that there were several adverse local influences that inhibited young people's compliance to HIV prevention messages; see chapter 6.

Thus it mainly seemed that (a) donors focus was on funding and monitoring activities they were interested in; (b) NGO efforts were restricted to programme implementation based on agreed deliverables, and influencing was mainly confined to championing by example; and hence (c) influencing efforts to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention was left mainly to young people. The picture that emerged suggests that the crucial role of influencing the landscape in South Africa for HIV prevention, which should be done by various agencies, was minimised. Small wonder that issues and messages that have arisen in South Africa, which conflict with HIV prevention messages, seemed not to have faced very strong and consistent opposition, be it from national, provincial or grassroots levels.

Recommendations

The results of this study support a number of recommendations, which suggest that some shifts in practice in the aid chain can bring about change. First, there is need to raise awareness of the importance of influencing the external environment, and build capacity in public action of development managers. If this is embraced at the donor level, there is likely to be more change in NGOs and community groups. Additionally, management systems need to be improved to enhance organisations' means and opportunity to influence the environment. Although researchers have documented the challenges in other settings that organisations face in establishing management systems that support engagement with policy development and implementation of public action (Mackintosh, 1993, cited in Robinson and Thomas, 2002), strengthening management systems for public action is essential. Second, there is need for organisations engaged in HIV prevention to explicitly include analysis of the external environment and influencing activities in their interventions. Influencing activities should not be confined to influencing young people and government, but also influencing the local communities. Third, as HIV prevention is a major challenge for South Africa, the findings on inadequate resources needs urgent address by

government and donor agencies, and careful consideration as donors are reducing funds allocated to HIV and AIDS given that dominate rhetoric that HIV and AIDS sector is overfunded. Thus there continues to be need for various donors to adequately fund behaviour change interventions, inclusive of influencing activities. Additionally, NGOs need to devise creative ways of extending available resources such as pooling resources and scaling up their own or others' cost-effective practices (Bahamon, Dwyer and Buxbaum, 2006). Where NGOs influencing activities are heavily curtailed by their resource providers, NGOs must consider securing alternative sources of funding, and remaining financially independent of the parties they lobby against to guard against potential compromises (Kareithi, 2004). Finally, there is need for explicit concerted public action to create a more enabling environment for HIV prevention. This should embrace a multifaceted multi-sectoral approach (UNICEF and World Bank, 2004) with effort from development organisations, aid agencies and civil society at large. Organisations need to make links between their work at the micro-level and the broader external environment of which they form a part. Work cannot be left mainly to young people. Therefore there is need for public action from local to national level to intensively champion the HIV prevention message, and openly speak out and challenge utterances, practices, myths, norms and beliefs that contradict HIV prevention messages.

Methodological limitations

This study confined its focus on the influencing practices of four NGOs in Cape Town. Although the four NGOs selected have similar features to other NGOs in the area, the patterns evident in this study may not necessarily be generalisable to other settings. Influencing is done by various development actors including governments, international aid agencies, local community groups, media, and so forth. Greater understanding may have been enhanced from more in-depth exploration of influencing practices by a wider range of development actors. This remains a potential area of future research.

Conclusion

This exploratory multiple-case study of four NGOs in Cape Town, South Africa, presents new data on how NGOs endeavour to influence their external environment.

The findings shed light on the influencing strategies, which include inter-organisational relations, influencing policy and championing by example. It emerged that NGOs generally directed their efforts towards influencing young people, with less effort directed at influencing other players to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. Furthermore, influencing work was centred on extending the reach and potential impact of their work, and sharing and learning.

The study has also developed our understanding of underlying constraints to influencing the external environment. We thus argue that awareness must be raised (among NGOs, community groups, government departments, donors, media and other partners in the public or private sector working towards a social end) on the importance of influencing, strategies of influencing, and ways of incorporating influencing into development interventions. Furthermore, adequate resources for HIV prevention and influencing are required. As funding plays a pivotal role in the activities of development organisations, it is crucial that donors prioritise their activities and that of their development partners to incorporate influencing. Public action for a more conducive environment for HIV prevention can no longer be left mainly in the hands of young people. Development organisations, donors, media and civil society at large ought to intensify their crucial role in explicitly refuting any contradictory messages and practices on HIV prevention that exist and may arise. We hope that putting these recommendations into practice at local and national level will rescue South Africa from 'fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water'.

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University of Cape Town

PART C

Chapter 8. Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Introduction

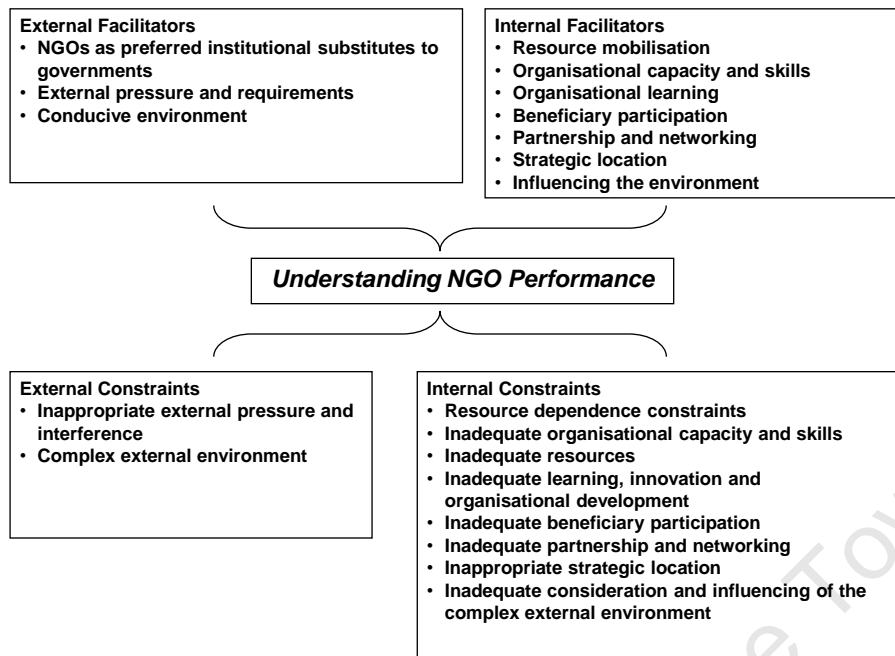
Findings of all studies presented in this thesis are discussed in-depth in each article, along with how the findings compare with the existing research literature; **see Chapters 2-7**. This final chapter aims to summarise pertinent findings on the review of literature on development NGO performance; characteristics of NGO performance research; location of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town; NGOs management practices; young people's perception of their social and economic environment; and, how NGOs influence the external environment. The chapter then presents a framework for the institutionalisation of development management, which encompasses good practice in development management. This is followed by indications of how the research aims and objectives have been addressed; the contributions of this study to existing knowledge in the field of NGO performance and development management; and, the limitations of this research. Finally, recommendations are made for practice, policy, and further research.

8.2 Review of literature on development NGO performance

8.2.1 Factors influencing NGO performance

The systematic literature review identified numerous factors that influence NGO performance. These include internal and external facilitators as well as constraints. These are summarised diagrammatically in **Figure 8.1** below. It is worth noting that although a number of factors influencing NGO performance are external, most factors are internal. This may suggest that these factors are within the control of NGOs, and NGOs should work at managing each factor to enhance their developmental goals.

Figure 8.1: Factors influencing NGO performance



8.2.2 Internal and external factors

Evidence confirms that NGO performance is influenced by both internal and external factors. This has implications for practice and research. In practice, it shows the need for NGOs to assess both internal and external factors that influence their performance. This is in line with the literature that calls for NGOs not only to focus on NGO organisational attributes, but also to closely analyse the environment in which they operate (Johnson and Thomas, 2002; Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006) as excessive organisational introspection can weaken long-term mission and undermine the quality and reliability of NGO performance (Hulme and Goodhand, 2000).

8.2.3 Double-sided factors

There was striking evidence that a number of factors¹ influencing NGO performance are like a double-sided coin i.e. a factor emerged as both a facilitator and a constraint. As **Figure 8.1** shows, this argument applies to the external environment; resource mobilisation; external

¹ Recognition is made of the fact that in some instances there is a thin dividing line between internal and external factors. The researcher takes internal factors as those that NGOs have greater control over, while external factors are largely controlled by forces outside of NGOs.

pressure, requirements and influence; and, operational management. This shows the need for NGOs to identify and understand how each factor influences them. There is further need for NGOs to strategically manage each factor in a bid to enhance their performance. Facilitators should be encouraged and enhanced. Constraints should be minimised and managed to reduce adverse effects, or eradicated where possible.

8.2.4 Shift by NGOs and their donors

The review further suggests that despite the repeated calls for NGOs to consider and influence their external environment, they are still, in many cases, unable to do so. This is consistent with Hulme (2008) sentiments that NGOs fail to examine key players who influence the underlying processes that affect NGOs' work. Although this information has been known for some time, in practice NGOs seem to be slow to take adequate cognisance and subsequently make a significant shift in their practices (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008). The review further provides evidence that NGOs are largely influenced by their donors. These findings have implications for practice, policy and research.

In practice, this research urges NGOs to move towards explicitly and intensively influencing their environment. However, this move by NGOs should be accompanied by complementary development policy reforms directed at donors, governments and policy-makers, as the agenda of donors is a key influencing factor among NGOs. Thus, it is imperative that the capacity of donors be strengthened so as to explicitly embrace the practice of influencing. Donors must form part of the paradigm shift and support NGOs to make concerted effort to consider and influence the external environment. Failure to do so will simply perpetuate the existing situation whereby NGOs are required to reform, but fail to change, unless practices conform to the paradigms and expectations of their funding agencies.

8.2.5 Conclusion

Results of the systematic review of literature on development NGO performance showed that development NGOs face a range of issues. The key issues include questions of resource dependency, accountability, strategic location, beneficiary participation, and organisational learning.

A useful perspective about NGO performance can be derived from the beneficiaries of the development interventions. This argument is not new, but certainly needs to gain ground in development practice and assessments. This is in line with a report by the British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) that there is an emerging consensus among development NGOs that their primary accountability is to their beneficiaries (Gosling, 2008). Results of the review emphasise the call for a change in practice among development organisations to draw their indicators of effectiveness mainly from their beneficiaries. As shown in the literature, there is a tendency in practice to define NGO performance and corresponding indicators of effectiveness as defined particularly by donors and management experts. More often than not, these stakeholders put forward recommendations and capacity building programmes that concentrate on improving the organisations themselves. Regarding assessments, the multiple-constituency model of the theory of organisational effectiveness similarly argues that assessment should be centred on the reported opinions of key stakeholders based on criteria that are important to them (Herman and Renz, 2004). It is thus important for NGO performance to be defined from the perspective of beneficiaries, including constant review of the environment of development interventions. The Development NGO Management Cycle, which incorporates this approach, has been put forward as a contemporary guide in managing development interventions.

8.3 Characteristics of NGO performance research

8.3.1 Scarcity of articles on NGO performance

Out of 14,469 citations on NGOs, only 31 (0.21%) academic peer-reviewed journal articles were found on factors influencing the performance of NGOs from the systematic literature search. This represented 3.06% of the 1,012 academic articles on other subject matters relating to NGOs. The evidence confirms the scarcity of articles on factors influencing NGO performance, and previous sentiments that the organisation and management of NGOs research has received relatively little attention (Lewis, 2003; Lewis, 2005). The underdevelopment of knowledge in this field (Lewis, 2006) supports calls for an increased rigor in academic research to deepen our understanding of NGO performance.

8.3.2 Articles scattered in various publications

Articles on NGO performance are scattered in several journals, including development studies journals, evaluation and accountability, health and political studies journals. This confirms sentiments by Edwards and Fowler (2002) that NGO literature is widely dispersed across books, journal articles and agency publications. This makes the job of locating them hard, long, and tedious as this research confirms.

8.3.3 Concentration of researchers in developed countries

The systematic literature review showed that the majority of the researchers examining NGO performance are affiliated to institutions in developed countries. However, the majority of the studies were carried out in developing countries. It was also found that all studies in developed countries were exclusively done by researchers in those countries. The data provides proxy indicators that reveal the nature of collaborative efforts between the 'North' and 'South' among both academics and development practitioners. This situation is contrary to the rhetoric of 'North-South' and 'South-North' collaboration and participation in international development especially in the field of research on NGO performance. Reasons for this state of affairs may be attributed to:

- Low capacity in developing countries;
- Inadequate resources in developing countries;
- More reputation and capacity in 'Northern' institutions; and,
- Donors commissioning 'Northern' institutions to assess development partners in the 'South'.

This is in line with the argument by Muchungunzi and Milne (1995) that the 'South' always has to account to the 'North' and not vice versa, while donor money and expertise are more valued than 'Southern' labour and expertise. Wallace and Chapman (2003) also argue that while UK NGOs and donors state commitment to downward accountability and promotion of local ownership and control of development, the policies and procedures of funding disbursement and accounting ensures that upward accountability dominates, which is part of a wider problem of donor domination of recipients.

8.3.4 Broad definition of NGO performance

Evidence shows that NGO performance covers a wide range of topics, reflecting a wide definition of the term 'NGO performance'. Of the 31 articles examined, nine categories were distinguished, namely accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation, operational management, monitoring, evaluation, organisational learning, institutional environment, needs assessment and strategic location.

8.3.5 Skewed examination of topics

Topics most commonly examined were accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation, operational management, and monitoring and evaluation. There were few studies on organisational learning, institutional environment, needs assessment and strategic location. Given that these topics are growing in significance, these findings reflect the need to increase research in these less commonly examined yet critical areas. For instance, organisational learning is important as it is linked to improved organisational capacity, performance, effectiveness and sustainability. Organisational learning creates the space for organisations to reflect on their experiences, lessons learnt from their work and work of others, and their internal and external environment. This provides the space to think critically, disseminate new knowledge, techniques and new ways of understanding, be creative and innovative in designing means to face new demands and challenges, re-plan and adapt accordingly. This is essential as the development arena is a rapidly changing and complex context (Johnson and Thomas, 2007). Increased studies in organisational learning will add to knowledge on if and how organisations learn and adapt to the complex context, and on experienced facilitators and constraints. Studies will further identify examples of good practice, which can be scaled-up and replicated by others.

8.3.6 Skewed utilisation of sources of data

Evidence showed that researchers gather data on NGO performance from various sources of data. Eight categories were distinguished. Dominant sources were NGOs and donors. Other sources were beneficiaries, government departments, academic researchers, and technical assistance providers.

This evidence may suggest that the rhetoric of beneficiary participation and engagement seems not to have been effectively implemented in research projects, and may be a proxy reflection of the reality in intervention practices. This is further compounded by the fact that participation of beneficiaries are often sought in implementing activities based on decisions taken in other fora; hence their participation less sought in decision-making. Beneficiary participation in projects and research is particularly important since they are more likely to know what benefits them as the recipients of a given set of interventions (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004). As important stakeholders, beneficiaries should be involved from the design stage to evaluation (Szporluk, 2009). Furthermore, incorporating their voices into studies generates data that would otherwise be overlooked and can make the realities and experiences of beneficiaries count more (Chambers, 2009).

8.3.7 Few published researchers in Africa

Evidence shows that only 3 out of 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa were affiliated to an institution in Africa. These 3 represent less than a tenth of 38 who authored the 31 articles that were examined.

8.3.8 Conclusion

The new data from this study, which reviewed journal articles published between 1996 and 2008, shows that although there is substantial global interest and concern over NGO performance, there is an insignificant number of academic peer-reviewed journal articles that have examined factors that influence NGO performance. Additionally, most published researchers in this field are affiliated to institutions in developed countries. This striking evidence reveals the need to address this imbalance in published researchers in developing countries, particularly Africa, in the field of NGO performance research.

8.4 NGO strategic location

8.4.1 Numerous NGOs with HIV and AIDS interventions for young people

The finding that in 2007, 93 NGOs were providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town is striking. This provides evidence that a considerable number of development

NGOs have responded to addressing the HIV and AIDS needs of young people, which is a strategic approach in halting the spread of HIV and AIDS (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007).

8.4.2 Skewed concentration of NGO office location

Findings show that there was a concentration of NGO offices in two geographical areas i.e. Cape Town Central and South Peninsula. These are not areas with the highest HIV prevalence. This shows that although development NGOs have a reputation of being closer to the people, their office locations are not concentrated in areas of highest HIV prevalence where one would expect as these are the areas of highest need. This was consistent with findings of international studies that NGO offices are not located in communities of most need (Campion, 2002; Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). The only exception was a study by Brass (2009) in Kenya, that found that NGO offices were geographically located in communities of most need, hence the need-factors determined NGO office location. This exception raises further questions. What could policy makers and NGO practitioners learn from the Kenyan case on factors that determine NGO location? Could NGO location be determined by government policy? This is left for future research.

8.4.3 Fairly even spread of NGO service sites

Findings showed that service provision was fairly evenly distributed across all health sub-districts of the Cape Metropole. This may be attributed to the policy of the government, which is a major donor to NGOs in Cape Town, to advocate for broad coverage in all areas.

The highest numbers were in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga, which have the highest average HIV prevalence rates over several years. However, the lowest ratios of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates were in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. This finding shows that despite the large number of NGO service sites in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga, the intensity is inadequate in relation to the prevalence of HIV in these areas. This may suggest that NGOs do not review, and hence fail to shift, strategic areas of service provision based on shifts in HIV prevalence. Therefore, areas of higher HIV prevalence have not received the intensive concentration of service provision that is expected.

8.4.4 District data conceal communities of most need

The six-year HIV prevalence data showed that despite the Western Cape Province having the lowest HIV prevalence in the country, some health sub-districts such as Khayelitsha have, at times, marginally higher prevalence figures compared with the national figures. This confirms the argument that examining provincial estimates of HIV prevalence alone can potentially mask epicentres (Shaikh, *et al.*, 2006). This is particularly important in development management as it suggests that using such provincial data as the basis for targeting beneficiaries can be misleading.

8.4.5 Conclusion

The results of this study provide new data that is crucial for policy making in the development agenda of HIV and AIDS, particularly those targeting young people. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first of its kind in South Africa, and globally at large. These new results show that the targeting performance of development NGO offices and sites of service provision are not determined by HIV prevalence. This provides evidence that higher HIV prevalence areas have not yet experienced greater intensity of HIV and AIDS services.

8.5 NGO management practices

8.5.1 Common management practices

Through utilising the Development NGO Management Cycle as the conceptual lens, the findings of this study showed that although capacities varied, the multiple-case study NGOs had various management practices in place. The most common management practices were strategic location and implementation. The NGOs located their intervention sites within reach by young people, such as in schools and community centres. Interventions were implemented in innovative and youth-friendly styles, which young people appreciated. Other common management practices were beneficiary participation, planning, resource mobilisation, monitoring, reporting and external evaluations.

8.5.2 Challenging management practices

The most challenging management practices were needs assessment, influencing the external environment, project reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. The low levels of needs assessment and needs reformulation seemed to relate to the finding that minimal monitoring, reviewing and organisational learning were conducted by NGOs. Low levels of organisational learning were attributed to the concentration on delivering and meeting targets of the donor-led contract work. This seems to have minimised the opportunity for NGOs to intensify their assessment, reformulation and learning practices. This is similar to Fowler (1997) sentiments that NGOs have a dominant culture of action over reflecting, analysis and learning.

8.5.3 Skewed upward external accountability

Skewed upward accountability was observed with less internal and downward accountability to beneficiaries. The skewed upward external accountability was largely attributed to fears of funds revocation or imposition of additional conditionalities, and the desire to remain relevant to the course of donors. This seemed to have the knock-on effect of NGOs not creating adequate space for reviewing and learning from both successes and challenges. This provides empirical evidence that rewarding success while punishing failure, through revocation of funds or additional funding conditions, tends to discourage NGOs from revealing and scrutinising mistakes, and that 'short-term accountability to funders can chill learning and innovation' (Ebrahim, 2005: 82).

8.5.4 Inadequate beneficiary participation

Analysis showed that beneficiary participation was largely limited to the intervention delivery style, particularly with the peer education programme. This finding confirms Brett's argument that effective participation is achieved when 'operationalised through institutional arrangements which maximise the accountability of agencies to users' (Brett, 2003: 1-2).

8.5.5 Enormous task of influencing the external environment

Influencing the external environment was regarded as a crucial and enormous task, yet NGOs did not explicitly receive funding to enhance this practice. The enormity of influencing the environment emphasises the fact that concerted effort is required from numerous agencies, as

no individual organisation has access to all resources required for development (Thomas, 1996; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000).

8.5.6 Conclusion

Although these results are not new, there are a few notable points for development managers in NGOs, governments, and donor agencies to draw from this multiple-case study. The NGOs tended to centre attention on strategic location and implementation, than on other management practices. They seemed to reach their beneficiaries, mobilise some resources, and establish upward external accountability to donors. These practices could account for their reputation in the field. Nonetheless, general evidence shows that contemporary management theory has still not been fully incorporated into practice. This confirms that even reputable NGOs and their stakeholders seem slow to make a significant shift in their practices (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008).

8.6 Young people's perspective of their socioeconomic environment

8.6.1 Numerous adverse influences

The findings from the study showed that young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities faced several adverse influences. Key emergent factors were:

- Negative social norms;
- Inadequate recreational facilities;
- Crime;
- Chronic poverty;
- Inadequate parent/guardian–child relationships; and,
- Inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders.

These debilitating factors in their external environment adversely affect young people's ability to build institutionalised compliance procedures for HIV prevention. Furthermore, the young people's vivid awareness and detailed descriptions of the constraints they face begs urgent and concerted attention.

8.6.2 Multifaceted approach required for a more conducive environment

Young people proposed several ways in which the external environment needs to be improved to create a more conducive environment for primary HIV prevention. Key proposals were:

- Continued education with the opportunity for critical thinking;
- Increased access to recreational activities;
- Increased positively influential social norms;
- Increased positively coherent HIV prevention messages;
- Improved security;
- Continued access to youth-friendly health facilities;
- Improved parent/guardian–child relationships; and,
- Reduced chronic poverty.

8.6.3 Multiple agencies action for a more conducive environment

Young people perceived that an enabling environment includes positive influences from home, peers, schools, NGOs, clinics, hospitals and other health facilities, sporting facilities, churches and other religious organisations, media, and local and national leaders. It begs for integrated development, with additional radical measures, from various agencies. This includes local and national leaders, as the responses and utterances of political leaders play a role in HIV prevention (Mupedziswa, *et al.*, 2009). These perceptions are in line with arguments that public action must come from a wide range of multiple agencies (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). It further echoes the approach by UNICEF to work with a wide range of partners and invest in children to “ensure future generations break out of the vicious cycle to poverty, violence and disease” (UNICEF, 2009: 2).

8.6.4 Increased emphasis and access to recreational activities

The findings showed that young people living in low resource communities perceive that access to extra-curricular and recreational facilities was crucial to keeping them engaged in activities they enjoyed as well as for exploring and showcasing their talents. Hence, indirectly it is a crucial means to fight the spread of HIV. It further suggested that mere delivery of educational and health interventions in isolation cannot succeed in curbing the spread of HIV among young people.

Effectively hearing the voices of young people is crucial to bridging the gaps between what young people know will work for them and what interventions provide. Failure to do so, scholars caution, will lead to continued mismatches between youth aspirations and HIV and AIDS programmes (Gibbs, *et al.*, 2010). There is thus need to recognise and address the importance of recreational activities in HIV prevention. In this regard, there is a particular need for increased donor tolerance toward programmes that incorporate sports, performing arts and community service as a complementary component of HIV prevention interventions for young people. This will encourage innovative ideas to be put into practise in the public interest of HIV prevention, and may contribute to improved effectiveness of available resources.

8.6.5 Constant scan and assessment of the external environment

The findings also showed that the environment within which young people live is a crucial factor in HIV prevention interventions, and is worth reviewing constantly. It also emerged as a critical area of research study from a social science perspective (Barnett, 2004b). Development organisations need to act speedily and rigorously to strengthen their negotiating power and move beyond the focus of major donors on changing behaviour (Barnett and Parkhurst, 2005) into changing the context. This research further showed that beneficiary participation, even by young people, is indeed possible, practical and essential in understanding and responding to the external environment.

8.6.5 Conclusion

In the context of NGO management literature and NGO performance research, this study uniquely utilised FGDs and pictures drawn by young people to examine influences of the external environment from the perspective of young people who live in low resource high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities. The findings paint a lucid picture of young people's perception of their external environment, and disabling influences of their environment that challenge their ability to institutionalise HIV prevention messages. This reveals the important need for interventions to urgently address the adverse socio-economic environment, as an additional, crucial and complementary means of enhancing primary HIV prevention among young people. Positive elements in the environment such as education and health facilities, sports, drama, performing arts, and other extra-mural facilities need to be

increased, be equipped and functional. Parallel to this, disenabling factors such as adverse social norms, crime and poverty need increased and urgent attention.

8.7 Influencing the external environment

8.7.1 Influencing in practice

The findings provided evidence that although the four multiple-case study NGOs were not explicitly familiar with the development management strategy of influencing the external environment, in practice they employed a combination of influencing strategies, in varied degrees, to achieve their development ends. Overall, the most preferred strategies were cooperation, coordination and championing by example. The least preferred were open challenge/confrontation and competition.

8.7.2 Constraints to influencing

Principal constraints NGOs faced in influencing the external environment emerged as:

- Fear of losing legitimacy;
- Inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity;
- Perceived deviation from work;
- Inadequate funding;
- Conflicts related to values and messages; and,
- Focusing on individual behaviour and less on context.

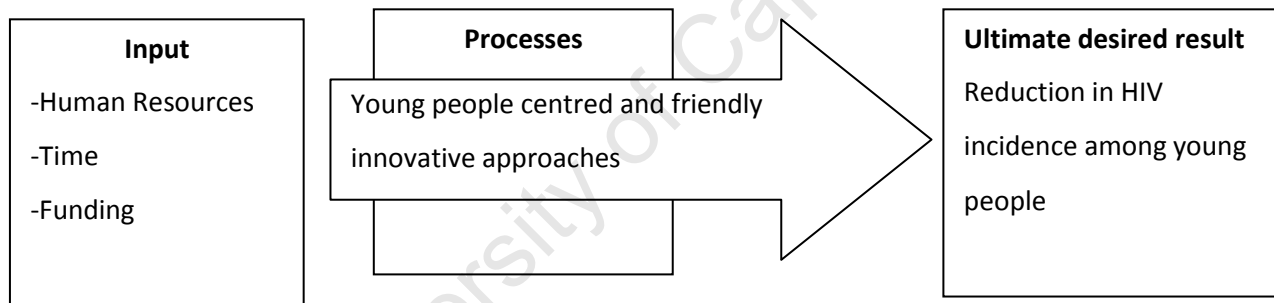
8.7.3 Unintentional engagement in influencing

Evidence showed that some NGOs avoided practices that would be considered political or perceived as subversive to government, which is a principal financial provider. Nonetheless, some NGOs seemed to have unintentionally engaged in influencing activities. For instance, although some NGOs opted to maintain their independence and not engage in influencing, they seemed to have successfully engaged in unavoidable confrontation of ideas and practices. Policies of government and decision makers seemed to be shifting as they appeared to recognise the importance of recreational activities and being more tolerant towards programmes that incorporated sports, performing arts and community service.

8.7.4 Trends in influencing practices

Analysis of trends revealed a critical situation in influencing practices, as summarised diagrammatically in **Figure 2** of chapter 7. Evidence showed that donors (including government, international and national aid and development agencies) funded NGOs to implement programmes with contractual agreements clearly stipulating requirements, and NGOs concentrated on effective programme delivery to increase young people's knowledge of HIV and AIDS and safe sex practices and enhance their influencing skills. Groups of trained young people endeavoured to influence their peers in their local communities. This results chain is summarised in **Figure 8.2** below. Donors generally did not explicitly include in their funding analysis of the external environment and influencing it to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention.

Figure 8.2: Results chain - desired HIV prevention among young people



8.7.5 Potential in influencing minimised

Given the above trends, the potential of NGOs in influencing the environment was minimised. This was attributed to a number of factors. First, NGOs were afraid of losing legitimacy and were preoccupied with implementing donor supported programmes. This was further intensified by the NGO tendency to prioritise 'doing over influencing'. Second, the way donors conceptualised their funding led to the separation of implementation from influencing activities. This is in line with Lister and Nyamugasira's (2003) arguments that donors tend to separate service delivery from advocacy (policy influencing or formation). Indeed recent literature on NGO management argues that official aid should concentrate on promoting an enabling environment for civil society to flourish (Fowler and Malunga, 2010). Hence, other than championing by example, some NGOs did not have adequate resources for influencing

activities. Third, in HIV prevention interventions efforts centred on enhancing the knowledge of young people on HIV and AIDS, and giving them skills to positively influence their peers. Development managers seemed to pay little attention to influencing the general policy arena of development.

8.7.6 Narrow definition of influencing

The study also provided evidence that there was a narrow definition of influencing. Apart from influencing young people, NGOs largely confined effort to influencing government, with little attempts at influencing the local communities. This creates a critical gap, which, if not addressed, leaves an adverse local environment for HIV prevention among young people.

8.7.7 Conclusion

Overall, evidence showed that (a) donors focused on funding and monitoring activities they were interested in; (b) NGO effort was restricted to programme implementation based on agreed deliverables, and influencing was mainly confined to championing by example; and hence (c) influencing efforts to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention was left mainly to young people.

Consequently, NGOs generally directed their efforts towards influencing young people, with less effort directed at influencing other players to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. Despite the inputs and intensity of ongoing work, the ultimate desired result of reducing HIV incidence among young people may not be achieved, or only be achieved at a much slower pace than expected.

Therefore, public action for a more conducive environment for HIV prevention, and the crucial role of influencing the landscape, can no longer be left mainly in the hands of young people. There is need to rescue South Africa from 'fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water' by influencing at various levels: the individual, local environment and the policy level.

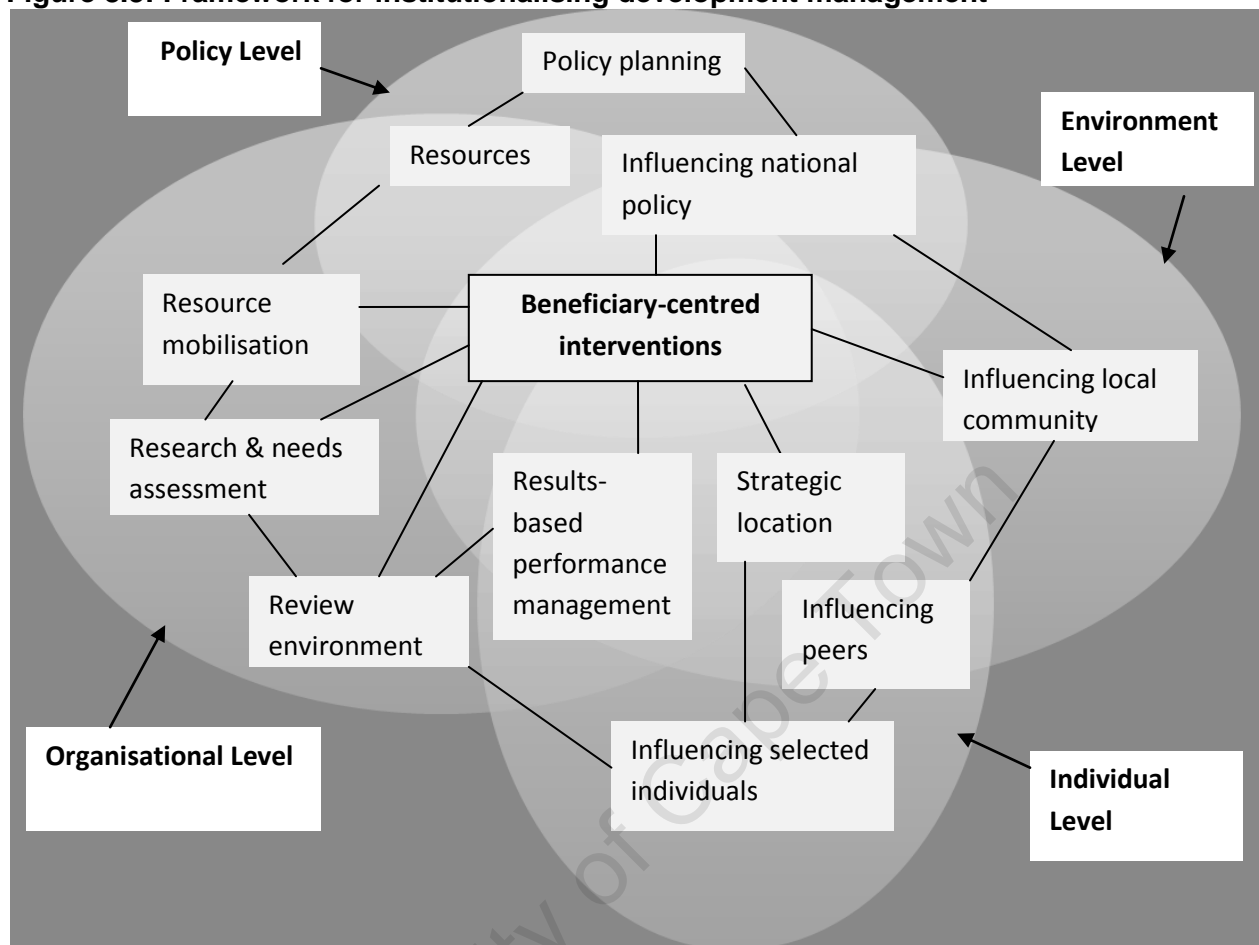
8.8 Framework for institutionalisation of development management

The aim of this thesis was to develop a framework of good practice in development management to guide development NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people into improving their performance in achieving both internal organisational and external social goals. To this end, this research makes another unique contribution by formulating and presenting a Framework for Institutionalising Development Management (FIDM) as shown in **Figure 8.3**. Based on critical findings that emerged from this research, key players not only involve NGOs but also donors, policy makers, young people and communities at both local and national level.

The FIDM is not only based on good practices in development management, but also reflects the connectivity of the practices and forms a guide on how to institutionalise fundamental development management practices. The framework is an adaptation of earlier work by Levy (1996) who developed a web of institutionalisation of gender. The framework for the institutionalisation of development management differs from the web of institutionalisation of gender in two ways: first the focus is different as the web focuses on gender mainstreaming while the framework focuses on development management; and, second, actors are different both in their nature and their flow of inter relationships.

The FIDM has practices at four main levels i.e. organisational, individual, environment and policy levels. The practices form a web as they are linked, interrelated, and under optimal conditions should work simultaneously. Practices in the FIDM can begin at any level. Nonetheless, crucial findings from the voices of young people (see chapter 6), urgently call for interventions to start from the perspective of beneficiaries. This is in line with the call by several development scholars and practitioners to embrace beneficiaries from the onset of development interventions and assessments (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Chambers, 2009). Moreover the Development NGO Management Cycle, a product of this research, also calls for interventions to commence with beneficiary needs assessment.

Figure 8.3: Framework for institutionalising development management



At the **organisational level**, the framework suggests that organisations should first conduct research or beneficiary needs assessments, or utilise results of a relevant assessment conducted by another organisation. The assessments should not only examine the behaviour of targeted beneficiaries, but also review the external environment within which beneficiaries live. This should be expanded to include the way beneficiaries perceive how their environment influences their behaviour. Based on findings from the needs assessment, organisations should design and deliver beneficiary centred interventions, upholding beneficiary participation in various activities as much as possible. Organisations should also strategically locate the sites of service provision to ensure easy access by targeted beneficiaries, particularly in communities of most need. To do this, resources must be mobilised including financial, personnel and material resources. At the onset, results-based performance management systems should be designed, and monitoring, reviewing and evaluation regularly undertaken to ensure planned activities are implemented, targeted results achieved, and lessons learnt documented. These should not only

inform internal decision making, but also contribute to reporting to donors and other stakeholders. It should further facilitate organisational learning and beneficiary needs reformulation.

At the **individual level**, evidence-based strategies that are known to be effective should be replicated and scaled-up. For instance organisations should continue working with and influencing selected groups of young people. In turn these young people should endeavour to positively influence their peers. Collectively, the larger groups of young people should influence their families, friends and others in their local community. As this is ongoing, development organisations should not only examine changes in young people's behaviour, but also examine any changes to the external environment, particularly from the perspective of young people, that inhibit young people's compliance to and institutionalisation of HIV prevention messages.

Influencing of the external environment should not be left to young people only. At the **environment level**, development NGOs should utilise findings from the review of the external context in influencing the local communities and national policy makers into creating a more conducive environment for HIV prevention. Other crucial players that should fight for a more enabling local and national environment must include families and community members, as well as local and national leaders, religious organisations, media, donors, private firms, policy makers, and local, provincial and national governments.

At the **policy level**, policy makers should ensure that there are current, relevant and beneficiary-centred policies for HIV prevention among young people. Policy makers, working closely with government and donor agencies, must ensure there are adequate resources allocated and availed to implement all activities that are part of the comprehensive approach to HIV prevention. Additionally, policy makers should ensure that policies should include the creation of more conducive environment for HIV prevention, particularly addressing the perspective of young people. Aspects to be addressed should for instance include broader socio-economic strategies such as reducing chronic poverty, negative social norms and inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders, crime, and alcohol and drug abuse. There should also be increased recreational facilities, education, creation of employment opportunities, and improved parent/guardian-child relationship.

Overall, the framework proposes that the main condition for the institutionalisation of development management in HIV prevention interventions for young people is the focus on beneficiary-centred interventions. This is consistent with the utilisation of indigenous knowledge and systems. To do so, organisations and players at various levels need to unlearn inhibiting existing practices in order to effectively adopt new ones. The new practices must focus on beneficiary centredness rather than organisational survival and donor-drivenness.

Different players can utilise the FIDM to reflect on their practices, and identify various practices that require change. For instance, development NGOs that have simply commenced service provision to a hitherto unreached community of need, must first undertake a needs assessment of their beneficiaries, obtaining data on beneficiaries' behaviour and their external environment. Changes must be made to their interventions based on the findings. Donor agencies and policy makers can also use the framework to aid their understanding of why influencing the external environment is crucial for HIV prevention. Resources should then be allocated to reviewing and influencing the external environment as part of the comprehensive approach to HIV prevention.

8.9 How the aim and objectives of the research have been addressed

The central research question of this thesis has been addressed through the formulation, presentation and discussion of the framework for institutionalising development management presented above. The framework calls for continued endeavours to improve achievement of set goals, along with constant scanning, reviewing and influencing of the external environment to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people.

The results of the research are presented through six journal articles, which addressed the aim and six objectives of this thesis. The first objective to conduct a systematic literature review on the performance of development NGOs, and identify influencing factors was addressed and presented in the first article; as indicated in **Chapter 2**.

In **Chapter 3**, analysis of the characteristics of development NGO performance research was presented. This was an additional product of this research from the wealth of data extracted and generated from the review. The second objective, namely to develop a typology of organisations

that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa, and populate it with data on the type of organisation and nature of the services provided, were presented in **Appendix 2**. Analysis and findings on the location of NGO offices and service sites in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates were discussed in **Chapter 4**. **Chapters 5 to 7** present findings that addressed the third and fourth objectives, namely to identify existing development management practices in a multiple-case study of development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention services to young people, and to identify factors that encouraged and factors that hindered the emergence of development management practices. Several recommendations that can inform policy on the provision of primary HIV prevention services to young people are mainly presented in **Chapter 6**, which focuses on the voices of young people. Finally, overall findings of this thesis are utilised to critically formulate a framework of good practice in development management, as presented in **section 8.8**. This forms a contemporary guide to institutionalising development management.

8.10 Contributions of this research

The findings of this research provide several contributions to the knowledge of NGO management, some of which may also offer useful insights to other development organisations.

8.10.1 Contribution to systematic review in the social science

The systematic review of the literature makes a unique contribution to reviews in the social sciences as relatively few studies, compared to the biological field, utilise the systematic review methodology.

8.10.2 Factors influencing NGO performance

The systematic literature review drew evidence from online journal articles between 1996 and 2008. In doing so, it synthesised information on a range of factors influencing NGO performance, making a novel contribution to knowledge in the field of NGO management and research. It specifically highlights facilitators and constraints, and thus contributes to enhancing understanding of factors influencing NGO performance.

8.10.3 Evidence on the status of researching NGO performance

Analysis of the characteristics of NGO performance research has also made a number of contributions as it has explored and provided evidence on the status of researching the performance of development NGOs. Notably, first it has demonstrated that understanding NGO performance is a multi-faceted arena in which many issues are explored by academics, NGO practitioners, donors, governments and policy makers. Second, it has provided data needed to strengthen this field, as it clearly shows that in the field of NGO performance assessment there are few published researchers in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Third, it has collated and provided information on the various academic journals that publish articles on factors influencing NGO performance. This forms an important reference point for future researchers, with evidence that publications on NGO performance seem to be emerging in various new journals. Among other lessons, this has shown that scholars must not limit their future searches to traditional NGO and development journals.

8.10.4 Identifying methodological gaps in research and reporting

The review provides evidence of a few methodological issues that future researchers on NGO performance should pay attention to. First, evidence shows a skewed preference towards gathering data from NGO senior- and middle-level management. This practice omits the important contribution made from hearing the voices of field staff, beneficiaries and their communities. Second, the review showed that the methods of data collection were not explicitly stated in some studies. For instance, whilst the period of data collection is required in research, less than half of the studies examined explicitly met this requirement. This showed that future research in understanding NGO performance need to explicitly report on the methodology applied, which in turn would benefit future comparison analysis.

8.10.5 Development NGO management cycle

The project cycle management (PCM) is utilised as a standard tool in international development for conceptualising and managing projects (Cracknell, 2000). Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Learning from pertinent findings from the systematic review of literature, the PCM was modified to make it a contemporary guide in

managing interventions. Additional practices incorporated were strategic location, beneficiary participation, influencing the external environment, and organisational learning. This resulted in formulation of the Development NGO Management Cycle, as set out in **Figure 3** of chapter 4, which is a contemporary guide for the planning and performance management of development interventions. The Development NGO Management Cycle can further be utilised in research. For instance, as detailed in chapter 5, it was utilised as the conceptual framework in exploring the management practices of the multiple-case study NGOs.

8.10.6 New data

Development of the typology of NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town also generated new data. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first academic mapping of NGOs in this area of work. Moreover, the results from NGO location analysis further provide new data that are relevant to policy makers. The new results show that the targeting performance of development NGO offices and sites of service provision are not determined by HIV prevalence, and that higher HIV prevalence areas have not yet experienced greater intensity of HIV and AIDS services. Additionally, the data will be a useful reference for researchers, development organisations and donors interested in the mapping of NGOs in Cape Town providing HIV and AIDS services to young people. The methodology and analysis utilised in this study will also provide useful guidelines for future researchers undertaking geographical information system mapping of development NGOs, in South Africa or globally.

In the field of NGO performance research, no other academic research was found that examined the location analysis by author affiliation by study location. The small number of published researchers based in developing countries, particularly Africa, points to the need for policy makers to look into ways of strategically supporting, nurturing and hence increasing scholars and researchers based in developing countries. This crucial information will similarly inform future funding decisions.

8.10.7 Illustration of utilising multiple sources of data

As the literature review of NGO performance revealed a skewed preference towards gathering data mainly from NGO senior- and middle-level management, the field study of this research makes a contribution to changing practice. Data were successfully gathered from multiple

sources, both internal and external to the organisation and detailed information was provided on how it was done. It further demonstrates that a wealth of data in NGO management and performance research can be generated by encouraging reflection and incorporating the voices of beneficiaries; young people in this case. Indeed more has been done with young people as research subjects than to work with them on research projects, so the practice in this research is yet another demonstration of changing practice in a bid to effectively embrace the perspective of beneficiaries. This research has therefore presented a unique methodology for gathering empirical evidence on NGO management, and forms a reference point for future research.

8.10.8 HIV prevention and development management

This research has generated information on the provision of HIV prevention interventions to young people, which is useful for practitioners, beneficiaries, donors, policy makers, academics and researchers. Specifically, it makes a contribution to examining the gap between the theory of development management and the practices of sampled NGOs with primary HIV prevention interventions targeted to reduce HIV incidence among young people. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first published research in South Africa, and Africa at large, to undertake such a study with a focus on NGOs. This research has thus contributed to knowledge not only in the field of HIV prevention but also in NGO management, which forms part of development management.

This research also forms an important contribution to future work in developing HIV prevention strategies and policies. A large body of literature exists based on individual behaviour; there is less literature on the social aspects of HIV and AIDS. This research focused beyond individual behaviour; it examined the external environment and identified ways of influencing that external environment in a bid to make it more conducive for HIV prevention among young people. This has generated new knowledge, and can make a contribution to inform policy and systems of support to young people.

As this kind of research has not been done before, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the resultant framework of good practice in development management is a unique contribution to knowledge. As the framework has been formulated based on empirical research, its application in practice should go a long way in assisting development managers in institutionalising key management practices. In future it will be interesting for researchers to

explore and analyse the contributions of the framework where it is applied in practice. Regarding policy, this research has put forward a number of recommendations that, if implemented, will contribute to improving the provision of HIV prevention services to young people. Overall, this research has filled an existing void in literature in the context of the comprehensive approach emphasized by development management.

8.10.9 Hearing the voices of young people

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, the study on the perceptions of young people is the first academic research in South Africa in the field of development management. The FGDs with young people, which incorporated drawings, provides a unique contribution by illustrating how to gather data from young people in an age-appropriate way. This is important as incorporating the voices of beneficiaries, more so young people, in research projects is regarded as a difficult concept to practice. Incorporating the voices of young people has provided deeper insights into their perceptions and experiences, and has hence intensified understanding of influences of the socioeconomic environment in the context of HIV prevention among young people. This approach can be replicated in similar development management research and in collecting monitoring data for ongoing development interventions.

8.10.10 Enhancing understanding of NGO management practices

The multiple-case study on management practices not only explored existing management practices, but also underlying facilitators and constraints. It has thus contributed to enhancing understanding of factors that influence the performance of NGOs that provide HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town.

8.10.11 Framework of good practice in development management

This research was an important process to formulate guidelines of strengthening organisational performance in development management. The framework for the institutionalisation of development management (FIDM) can be used to guide development NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people towards embracing good practice in development management. Where implemented, it will contribute to improving the performance of NGOs and to achieving desired development goals. The FIDM can also be utilised by development managers in government, aid agencies, public and private organisations as a guiding framework

to assess their practices and to institutionalise development management practices. It is worth noting that the FIDM can further be utilised by organisations undertaking other types of development work; not just HIV prevention among young people. These organisations can adopt the framework to suit their context, mainly by amending the focus to their development goal, and by adjusting the actors and flow of the inter relationships.

8.11 Methodological limitations

The limitations of this research have been discussed in the specific articles (see Chapters 2-7) presented in this thesis. Nonetheless, key limitations that should be taken into consideration are summarised. The first two sub-sections refer to limitations of the systematic review of literature and developing the typology of NGOs respectively. Thereafter the discussion focuses on limitations of the multiple-case study.

8.11.1 Systematic literature review selection criteria

The search criteria were restricted to online journal articles, in English, published between 1996 and 2008, which focused specifically on factors influencing the performance of development NGOs. The criteria thus excluded journal articles in other languages, in non-electronic journals, other published materials, grey literature, and articles published earlier or later. Additionally, articles on NGO programme evaluations, NGO leadership and on NGOs in humanitarian and aid relief were omitted. The excluded publications may have contained relevant data.

Another potential area of difficulty was the inclusion of all types of NGOs, as the NGO sector is heterogeneous operating from grassroots to international level. Using data from a wide variety of NGOs eliminated the ability to control for variations in organisational settings. It also prevented generalisation of findings across all or any specific group of NGOs.

8.11.2 Typology of NGOs

Due to funding and time constraints, the researcher mainly relied on key electronic online databases to identify NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people and extracted relevant data. Gaps in the available data were sought through searching the NGOs' websites and/or through email and telephone communication. The location assessment was then made

based on maps received from the Provincial Department of Health. Thus, this study was not privileged to have relied on a geographical information system survey.

8.11.3 Selection criteria of the multiple-case study NGOs

The selection criteria focused on purposively sampling four development NGOs with a good reputation for their work regarding the provision of HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. Hence, no data were available to enable comparison between 'weak' or 'strong' performing NGOs. Additionally, as data on NGO management performance were hard to come by, NGOs were sampled based on the reputation for their HIV prevention services to young people, rather than on their management performance.

8.11.4 Biased positive reporting

As the researcher was seeking information on NGO management practices and their performance, it is probable that informants were biased towards positive reporting. However, the researcher attempted to minimise the influence of this by triangulating particularly through seeking data from directors and programme field staff who directly provide services to young people. Additionally data were sought from external sources including young people, partner organisations and donors.

8.11.5 Generalisation of the perspective of young people

The external environment explored in this study was of young people living in low resource, high HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa. Hence generalising the findings to other areas of South Africa must be done with caution. However, it is likely that these findings are relevant to other similar communities in South Africa.

8.11.6 Generalisation of the influencing practices

The study on influencing the external environment confined its focus on the influencing practices of four NGOs in Cape Town. Although the four NGOs selected have similar features to other NGOs in the area, the patterns evident in this study may not necessarily be generalised over other settings.

Additionally, the external environment is influenced by various actors including governments, international aid agencies, local community groups, local and national leaders, media, and so forth. Greater understanding may have been enhanced from more in-depth exploration of influencing practices by a wider range of development actors. However, this was beyond the scope of this study, and remains a potential area for future research.

8.12 Recommendations

A number of recommendations have been made in various chapters of this thesis. Key recommendations are highlighted below.

8.12.1 Recommendations for practice

Findings from the literature review show that in order for NGOs to remain as cutting-edge development organisations, there is need for them to continue developing more effective organisational processes, systems and practices. These include building capacity to diversify and manage multiple sources of funding; improve internal-logic of interventions clearly linking daily activities with long-term development goals; improve management and governance; improve performance measurements that capture and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data; encourage and create space for organisational learning and innovation; embrace and improve on results-based management which must start with beneficiary needs identification; adjust the skewed upward external accountability and strengthen internal and downward accountability mechanisms; and influence donors and policy makers to embrace and support practices that ensure long-term effectiveness and sustainable development. Moreover, NGOs must also continue strengthening links with beneficiaries and ensure beneficiary participation from the onset of an intervention through to the end; ensure strategic location; and, build synergistic partnerships, networks and alliances.

Results from the literature review and field work undertaken in this research show that there is the need for NGOs, development practitioners, governments, donor agencies, academics and researchers to rethink the definition of NGO performance. One useful perspective for thinking about NGO performance is from the point of view of the primary beneficiaries of the development interventions that NGOs deliver. This similarly applies to the performance of other development organisations. Key issues to be considered should include effective beneficiary

participation, strategic location of interventions, and constant influencing of the external environment to create a more conducive environment for the successful implementation of development interventions and achievement of the desired results and impact.

From the multiple-case study additional recommendations can be made regarding NGO management practices. First, findings showed that there was marked concentration on delivering and meeting targets of donor-led contract work. It is recommended that NGOs frequently reflect on their vision and mission and ensure their daily activities address their desired goals. NGOs should also focus on result-based management, which will guide them not only to focus on delivering services and achieving outputs, but will also guide them into concentrating on stating and working towards achieving desired outcomes. In this way, development organisations will be able to identify and address challenges that exist in their external environment that may curb the achievement of targeted development goals.

Second, findings showed that there was also marked concentration on delivering services over reviewing and learning. Additionally, there was a tendency to centre learning from educational institutions and experts. It is recommended that NGO staff create more space, time and opportunities to reflect and learn from each other.

Third, there is need to continue building NGO capacities to understand and exercise the different management practices. NGOs, and their stakeholders, must continue work to maintain the standards of existing good practices whilst making efforts to improve on weak areas. Technical support should be drawn from numerous agencies, based on the specific needs of an organisation. Service providers should not only be limited to training and educational institutions, but also be sourced from development organisations with reputable capacity building programmes. Capacity building should also focus on assisting organisations to map how the improvement of management capacities will enhance achievement of desired results and developmental goals (Adano, 2011).

With regards to the provision of HIV prevention services to young people, several recommendations are made particularly to NGOs, government, and donor agencies. First, whilst there is indeed need for young people to continue being educated to increase their knowledge on HIV and AIDS and need for continued access to youth-friendly health facilities, it is

imperative that they are provided with the opportunities and skills for critical thinking, and challenged to regularly do so. This will contribute to increasing the ability of young people to make critical independent and non-coerced judgments about their personal lives, and to withstand and resist any kind of negative influences from peers, relatives, leaders and the media.

Second, young people in low resource, high HIV prevalence communities need access to extra-curricular and leisure activities. This should form a complementary component of HIV prevention interventions. As mere delivery of educational and health interventions cannot succeed in isolation, HIV prevention intervention should encourage, provide or advocate for young people be able to access extra-curricular and recreational activities where they can explore and showcase their talents. Hence, a simple though striking and highly essential requirement is the need for increased access to functional recreational facilities. This is a modest though highly pertinent recommendation, which policy makers, government and donors should action on. The continued motivation of young people to embrace safe behavioural practices and instil institutionalised compliance behaviour, must go hand-in-hand with enlarging their experiences, perspectives, dreams, aspirations and future opportunities.

Third, there is need for positively influential social norms and a critical mass of positive and coherent HIV prevention messages both locally and nationally. Evidence suggested that whilst young people are bombarded with HIV prevention messages, many factors around them go against this communication. These factors are not only limited to individual behaviour, their families and peers, but also include practices of community members, media role models, and leaders at local and national levels. Hence, it is recommended that positively influential social norms and critical masses of positively coherent HIV prevention messages must not only stem from young people, parents/guardians, family and friends, but also from leadership at the local community and national level.

Fourth, it is recommended that intensive scanning of the environment with a 'wide-eyed lens' and influencing of the external environment must be included in HIV prevention interventions, run by NGOs and funded by government and/or other donor agencies. Analysis of the landscape revealed that desired developmental results are hard to achieve within an un-conducive environment, hence there is need to incorporate a new process into the way of doing

things. Evidence showed that it is not enough to simply provide HIV prevention services to young people, and to encourage young people to work at individual institutionalised compliance behaviour. A more conducive external environment is required for HIV prevention, especially in resource constrained high HIV prevalence communities. Influencing activities should not be confined to influencing young people and government, but also influencing the local communities. There is urgent need to constantly assess the external environment, including seeking the perspectives of beneficiaries. The wealth of data gathered in this research reveals that beneficiary participation, even by young people, is indeed a possible, practical and essential means of understanding the external environment. HIV prevention interventions should break away from the dominant donor focus on changing individual behaviour, and incorporate changing of the contextual factors. There is need to ensure that behaviour change approaches, underpinning many campaigns, address the complex contextual factors through a developmental approach (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002).

Fifth, and linked to the above, multiple actors must play a role in influencing the external environment. Influencing can no longer be left in the hands of young people, schools and NGOs. It is crucial that parents/guardians, and any other concerned adults, seek guidance in overcoming the common perception that HIV and AIDS should not be discussed with young people. Adults need to obtain skills to increase communication with young people, in an age-appropriate manner, regarding reproductive health. Furthermore, adults must adopt a more effective communication style, such as motivational communication which is a guiding rather than directing style (Mash, Mash and de Villiers, 2010).

Advocacy and work for the creation of a more conducive external environment cannot stop here. There is need for explicit concerted public action to be taken up by numerous agencies. Development organisations, donors, media and civil society at large ought to intensify their crucial role in explicitly refuting any contradictory messages and practices on HIV prevention that exist and may arise. This should embrace a multifaceted multi-sectoral approach (UNICEF and World Bank, 2004) with effort from the wider community, local, provincial and national governments, development agencies, religious organisations, media and private firms. Therefore there is need for public action from local to national level to intensively champion the HIV prevention message, and openly speak out and challenge utterances, practices, myths, norms and beliefs that contradict HIV prevention messages.

To achieve this, there is need to raise awareness of the importance of influencing the external environment, and build capacity in public action of development managers. If this is embraced at the donor level, there is likely to be more change in NGOs and community groups. Additionally, management systems of development organisations need to be improved to enhance organisations' means and opportunity to influence the environment.

Seventh, as HIV prevention is a major challenge for South Africa, the findings on inadequate resources needs urgent address by government and donor agencies. Thus it is recommended that donors adequately fund HIV prevention interventions, which must include scanning of and influencing the external environment. As funding plays a pivotal role in the activities of development organisations, it is crucial that donors prioritise their activities and that of their development partners to incorporate influencing. Additionally, NGOs need to devise creative ways of extending available resources such as pooling resources and scaling up their own or others' cost-effective practices (Bahamon, Dwyer and Buxbaum, 2006). Where NGOs influencing activities are heavily curtailed by their resource providers, NGOs must consider securing alternative sources of funding, in order to remain financially independent of the parties they lobby against and insulate themselves from potential compromises (Kareithi, 2004).

8.12.2 Recommendations for research

The systematic literature review showed that between 1996 and 2008 there was a modest but steady growth in the number of journal articles investigating factors influencing the performance of development NGOs. The researcher joins other scholars and calls for increased research on NGO performance. Future studies should explicitly examine and report on facilitating and constraining factors, in order to increase learning from practice, to further deepen our understanding of the environment of development organisations and their interventions, to facilitate more robust conclusions to be made, and to inform or challenge policy decisions.

Additionally, there is need for studies that review both internal and external factors that influence NGO performance. Further studies that explore the external environment within which NGOs operate need to be undertaken from the perspective of the beneficiaries of NGO development interventions. The wealth of data generated from the FGDs with young people confirms the importance of including the voices of beneficiaries not only in intervention design and

implementation, but also in research. Their opinion should also be sought in assessments and evaluations. It further confirms that young people have the ability to review and critique issues. Development practitioners, evaluators and researchers are, however, cautioned to utilise youth-friendly methodologies.

The review revealed that whilst detail of the period of data collection is a usual requirement in research, less than half (13 out of 31) of the studies in this review explicitly met this requirement. Some studies did not discuss the methods used at all. Future research in the area of understanding NGO performance would benefit from more rigorously described methodologies. Additionally, as NGOs are a heterogeneous group, future field studies and systematic reviews of the literature should make explicit attempts to cluster NGOs to a closer homogenous group for instance CBOs, FBOs, national NGOs, regional NGOs and international NGOs. Attention to these points will enhance further meta-analysis and comparison studies.

There is also need for more research that explores the relatively new topics in NGO management. First, attention must be paid particularly to influencing the external environment, including key players in underlying processes (Hulme, 2008). Second, NGO strategic location studies need attention. This will provide evidence for policy effectiveness, and strategically located interventions will improve beneficiaries' access to essential resources (Fowler, 1998). Going beyond the location analysis, future research could also analyse the quality of services provided by NGOs. It would further be interesting to compare the quality of services provided by NGOs located within the communities their beneficiaries live and those located further away.

The review of literature found plausible evidence that there are very few published researchers based in Africa in the field of NGO management. Additionally, little academic research on NGO performance is undertaken in partnership with researchers in Africa. There is need to advocate for engagement with the African Renaissance paradigm (Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia, 2010), and the need for research funders and policy-makers in academic, donor, government and development institutions to intensively identify, encourage, support and nurture social scientists in Africa, in the field of development and performance management.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, the study on the number and typology of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Metropolitan area of Cape Town

(also known as the Cape Metropole District of the Western Cape Province) is the first of its kind. The study takes note that the data of 2005 onwards only represented a two-year period. It would be interesting to obtain the actual additional number of NGOs during the period 2005 to 2010, to establish whether there would be any changes in the trend. It would further be interesting for researchers to undertake a study of NGO location in other health districts, not only in the Western Cape Province but also in other provinces of South Africa, and make comparison analysis across various variables including by provinces, by rural/urban, by population concentration or by province per capital income. This is left to future research. In understanding the external environment of development interventions, there is need for future studies that identify the number and analyse the strategic location of interventions. This should be done not only at provincial but also at national level.

This is of particular importance with regard to HIV prevention, taking a critical look at area-level analysis. Concentration analysis shows that NGO offices are concentrated in two areas, rather than in areas in Cape Town with the highest HIV prevalence. There is need for future research to explore the motives of NGOs for their location choices.

As there are limited academic studies on NGO management practices in South Africa, there is need for additional studies in this field, which should also explore both facilitating and constraining factors. This will provide an important reference base with data on NGO management practices and underlying factors. The data will also be useful to policy makers, governments and aid agencies as it will influence their policy making. Such studies should not only be conducted in NGOs in Cape Town or the Western Cape, but South Africa at large.

As noted earlier, various actors influence the external environment. However, this study focused on exploring the influencing practices of four NGOs. A recommended area of future research is the exploration of influencing practices by governments, international aid agencies, NGOs, local community groups, local and national leaders, media, churches and so forth as identified in a given community or geographical area. Analysis should explore the intensity of both positive and negative influences.

8.12.3 Recommendations for policy

The location analysis showed that targeting performance of NGO offices and sites of service provision are not determined by HIV prevalence. Thus development practitioners, donors, planners and policy makers need to utilise HIV prevalence rates as a strategic intent for service delivery. Data must be drawn not only from provincial and health district level, but also from sub-district level and smaller geographical areas so as to identify epicentres of the pandemic. This will contribute to targeting, realigning and intensifying interventions in communities of most need.

The multiple-case study shows that donors and governments explicitly need to provide more financial support to NGOs, so that they can enhance their efforts at influencing the external environment. This should be incorporated into their existing and future HIV prevention interventions. Indeed given the size of the epidemic, there is urgent need for donors to consider increasing resources to HIV prevention. Further, government needs critique its power in the aid chain, carried under the banner of NGO performance-based contracting, particularly in minimising the ability of NGOs to advocate for change. Failure to do so, at local, provincial and national levels, will simply perpetuate the delivery of HIV prevention services in an adverse environment, hence choke efforts in South Africa to make and show significant gains in HIV prevention and in achieving the sixth MDG. There is further urgent need to recognise that influencing the external environment is a fundamental component, not just for HIV prevention interventions, but also for development aid effectiveness.

It is further recommended that policy makers broaden the definition of an enabling environment. There is need to place emphasis on poverty reduction as evidence strikingly confirmed the link between increased HIV incidence with disabling factors in the external environment including poverty, boredom, unemployment, under-employment, violence, crime, and drug and alcohol abuse. Chronic poverty needs to be reduced particularly through increased employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, increased food security and improved basic living conditions especially in low resource communities.

8.13 Concluding remarks

NGOs have developed organisational practices of how they work, relate with various stakeholders, and achieve their desired internal organisational and external social goals. This thesis raises various issues that challenge a number of daily operations and management practices of NGOs. As practices of organisations are entrenched for these are established over a long time, organisational change processes will indeed take time to shift towards adopting recommendations made in this thesis. The same applies to other stakeholders who work with or influence NGOs, particularly government and donors.

However, despite potential resistance and difficulties to change, the recommendations in this thesis are supported by the evidence that has emerged from this research project. All stakeholders should progress towards adopting them as recommended good practice, and gradually aim to institutionalise them. To remain as cutting-edge contributors to development, development organisations could utilise the emerging body of literature on organisational learning, which will contribute to enhancing the ability of organisations to cope with new emerging practices.

Finally, the results of this research could be relevant for NGOs working in other development sectors, and not just those dealing with HIV and AIDS. It is hoped that these results will also be of assistance to donor agencies, governments and policy makers, who intentionally or unintentionally remain significant shapers of the practices of NGOs.

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Appendix

Annex A: NGO typology data collection form

1. What is the name of your organisation?

.....

2. Do you only offer services to young people? (Tick only one)

☐ Yes

☐ No

3. When did you start offering HIV/AIDS services to young people?

Year.....

4. What age group of young people do you provide services to? (Tick those that are relevant)

☐ 10-14

☐ 15-19

☐ 20-24

5. Where is your head office based?

.....

6. In which areas of Cape Town do you provide services to young people?

.....

7. What race group of young people do you offer services to? (Tick those that are relevant)

☐ Black

☐ White

☐ Coloured

8. What gender do you offer services to? (Tick those that are relevant)

☐ Male

☐ Female

9. What type of HIV/AIDS services do you provide to young people?

- Peer education
- Life Skills
- Condom distribution
- Public information campaign
- Television educational programme
- Radio educational programme
- VCT
- Other types of counselling (please specify)

.....

- Mental health
- ARV treatment
- Home based care
- Hospice care
- Anti-drug and alcohol abuse
- Art and drama
- Others (please state)

.....

10. What category does your organisation fall into?

- National Non-Governmental Organisation (NNGO)
- Faith Based Organisation (FBO)
- Community Based Organisation (CBO)
- International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO)
- Other (please state)

Annex B: Introductory electronic mail to NGO directors

Dear,

Further to our telephone conversation, I wish to thank you once again for your expressed interest and agreeing to participate in this research. Your participation is highly important as it will contribute to inform the process of improving the management and performance of development interventions.

As indicated, I am undertaking a PhD research project under the Adolescent Health Research Unit, University of Cape Town. This project aims to develop a model of good practice in development management. Development management calls for organisations to achieve internal organisational goals by managing and coordinating organisational resources, and then going beyond that into achieving social goals which are external to any organisation.

The empirical research is a multi-case study design, focused on development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention interventions to young people (aged 10-24 years) in Cape Town. Utilising purposive sampling, your organisation is 1 among 4 highly recommended by a Panel of Experts that met Tuesday 28th August 2007. Regarding the timeframe, I plan to collect data between and

The methodology of data collection involves interviews and focus group discussions with:

- 1) You as the director.
- 2) Programme officers who directly offer HIV prevention services to young people.
- 3) Young people (between 6-10 males and females) receiving HIV prevention services from your organisation.
- 4) An official from a partner organisation that you recommend.
- 5) An official from a donor organisation whom you recommend.

Regarding ethical and legal considerations, information generated from the interviews and focus group discussions shall remain the property of my supervisor, Prof Alan J. Flisher, and I. Information will remain confidential. The contribution of your organisation will be recognised in the acknowledgement and list of participating organisations, but comments and quotes in the report will not mention names of officials or your organisation. Regarding the focus group discussion with young people, I will send the consent forms to your organisation in due course. Only young people with duly signed parental/guardian consent forms will participate in the FGD.

Dissemination of the initial findings will occur at a seminar in 2008. I will send you an invitation closer to the date. During the seminar, we will discuss emerging findings and recommendations. You shall be sent a final copy of the executive summary upon completion of the research.

That is it for now! Do let me know if you have any comments or questions. Kindly also let me know of your availability, so that we can arrange an appointment for a face-to-face interview at a place and a time that is convenient to you. I look forward to meeting you and getting to know your organisation.

With kind regards

Roselyn Kareithi

Doctoral Researcher and Biko Fellow

Adolescent Health Research Unit, UCT

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+ 27 83 462 2428

Annex C: Letter and parental/guardian consent form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Adolescent Health Research Unit

C/o Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital
Klipfontein Road, Rondebosch 7700, South Africa
Tel. (021) 685 4103; Fax (021) 685 4107

alan.flisher@uct.ac.za

Director: Professor Alan J. Flisher

Date:

Dear Parents/Guardians,

I am a PhD student with the Adolescent Health Research Unit of the University of Cape Town. My research focuses on development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention services to young people (aged 10 to 24 years) in Cape Town, South Africa.

In order to add value to the data I collect, I will gather information from young people who benefit from the interventions. This is an opportunity to hear the voices of young people, regarding their experiences, opinions and recommendations on services provided to them. As they are the beneficiaries of these services, their views are highly essential. Your child is invited to participate!

Information will be gathered through a Focus Group Discussion (FGD), to be

held on (date)

at (time)

where (venue/place)

The FGD will be held between a few young people, me and any research assistant who accompanies me. Confidentiality will be upheld. The name of your child will not be mentioned in any of my reports, and no personalised information will be given to any party.

Please discuss this with your son/daughter. Participation is completely voluntary. If your child is willing to participate and you approve, kindly fill in the slip below and hand it over to your child. Only young people willing to participate, and who have a duly signed 'Parental/Guardian Consent Forms' will join in the FGDs. If you and/or your child do not wish to participate, please do not send your child to the discussions on the above-mentioned date.

This will be a discussion forum only! NO services will be provided.

I hope that this research will contribute in the improvement of services to our young people. Many thanks for your assistance. Kindly contact the undersigned if you have any questions.

Finally, if you want any information regarding your child's or teenager's rights as a research participant, or have any complaints about this research study, you may contact Dr Marc Blockman, the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Cape Town (phone 021 406 6496).

Yours sincerely

Roselyn Kareithi

Doctoral Researcher and Biko Fellow

Adolescent Health Research Unit (AHRU)

Parental/Guardian Consent Form

Please tick the appropriate block, sign this form and return it through your child on the mentioned date of the discussions, informing us whether you are willing to allow your son or daughter to participate in this research. Your child will not be allowed to participate unless you have given written permission.

I _____

(full name of parent/guardian)

give my child _____

(full name of young person)

permission to participate in the Focus Group Discussion.

Your signature _____

Date _____

Your relationship to the child: _____

(e.g. mother, father, aunt, etc)

Your telephone number: _____

Annex D: Check list

Supplies:

- ☐ Name Badge
- ☐ Flip Charts
- ☐ Varied coloured Markers and Pens
- ☐ Digital Camera
- ☐ Digital Recorder
- ☐ Check Batteries and Memory Space
- ☐ Refreshments

At start of interview or FGD:

- ☐ My Background
- ☐ Explain Research
- ☐ Appreciation of Acceptance to Participate
- ☐ Confidentiality
- ☐ Method of Recording Data: Notes and / Taped Interviews
- ☐ Turn on Digital Recorder and Check Taping Signal

End of interview or FGD:

- ☐ Thank Participant(s) and schedule next Interview or Focus Group Discussion
- ☐ Parental Consent Forms for young people: can only participate if dully filled and signed

Follow-up - After:

- ☐ Upload Digital recording to laptop
- ☐ Backup recording to two 2 CD Roms and save copy in two spots
- ☐ Re-listen to interview to determine follow-up and clarification questions
- ☐ Send thank you note

Data backup check list

N G O	Interview/ FGD Code	Date	Youth Consent Forms sent	Youth Consent Forms received	Interview/ FGD Notes and reflection	Interview/ FGD upload recording	Interview/ FGD back up to CDs	Transcribed by	Transcription received and checked
N G O 1	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								
N G O 2	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								
N G O 3	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								
N G O 4	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								

Annex E: Interview and FGD question guides

I. Individual in-depth interviews: NGO directors

Organisation:

Interviewee:

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

Internal Goals

1. Please could you tell me:

- a. What this organisation does?
- b. What you do in your job?
- c. What are your interventions regarding HIV prevention for young people?

2. There are various interrelated strategies used to achieve **internal organisational goals**.

From your experience, can you tell us about the management strategies this organisation practices?

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation have a / or Has your organisation undertaken a?
- (b) What process was taken to develop it?
- (c) Who was involved?
- (d) How are the goals/recommendations of the included in your daily functioning?
- (e) How do you review how well your organisation achieves the targets of the?

Refer to the Development NGO Management Cycle and discuss each of the practices.

3. You have identified that the management practices of that exist are **(mention them)**.

Why do you think these practices exist in your organisation?

Purpose: to identify the facilitating factors.

4. Which strategies does your organisation find difficult to practice? Why?

Purpose: to identify the constraining factors.

5. In your work regarding HIV prevention among young people, how do you include the participation of young people?

Purpose: to identify any inclusion of young people in the design, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reporting, and needs reformulation.

6. How do you think your organisation creates space for learning?

(Wait for answer then ask these...)

- a. Do you make comparisons between 'planned' and 'actual' activities, and then analyse them for decision making and learning?
- b. How does the organisation react to learning that challenges the strategic plan or challenges its assumptions?

External Social Goals

7. From your experiences, can you tell us about the strategies this organisation practices to influence the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people?

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems of influencing the external environment and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation undertake
- (b) What was the process taken?
- (c) Who was involved?

Refer to the strategies to influence the external environment and discuss each of the practices.

8. You have indicated that the strategies practiced are **(mention them)**. What do you think are the facilitating factors and what are the constraints?

9. How do you think the work of this organisation is influenced by the external environment?
(Wait for answer then ask ...)

How do you think this organisation has influenced the external environment in a bid to enhance HIV prevention among young people?

10. From your experience, how do you collect information about the needs of young people to assist them with HIV prevention?

11. How do you collect feedback from young people about how well you are meeting their needs?

12. What do you feel an enabling environment will look like that will ensure you are able to achieve HIV prevention among young people?

13. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in the work of the organisation?

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

II. FGD: Programme staff

Organisation:

Interviewees:

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

To start with, I will ask you for information through a fun activity! Later I will ask more questions.

Activity

Draw a picture that depicts your organisation (as a living thing) in its provision of HIV prevention services to young people.

(Pause)

- Why have you chosen this organic symbol?
- What does each symbol feature reflect?
- Where do you place yourselves? Why?

1. Please could you tell me what your interventions are regarding HIV prevention among young people?

2. I am now going to ask you about management strategies you practice in your programme work.

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation have a / or Has your organisation undertaken a?
 - (b) What process was taken to develop it?
 - (c) Who was involved?
 - (d) How are the goals/recommendations of included in your daily functioning?
 - (e) How do you review how well your organisation achieves the targets of the ?
- Refer to the Development NGO Management Cycle and discuss each of the practices.*

3. You have identified that the management practices that exist are **(mention them)**.
Why do you think these practices exist in your organisation?
Purpose: to identify the facilitating factors.

4. Which strategies does your organisation find difficult to practice? Why?
Purpose: to identify the constraining factors.

5. From your experience, how do you collect information about the needs of young people to assist them with HIV prevention?
Purpose: to identify various sources of information.

(Wait for answer then ask these...)

- a. How do you collect information directly from young people on their needs to assist them with HIV prevention?

Purpose: to identify if information is sought from young people.

- b. How do you collect information directly from young people on how well you are meeting their needs to deal with HIV prevention? Give some examples of how you did this. What was the result?

6. How do you include young people in the intervention design, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, reporting and needs reformation? Share experiences of how you incorporate their feedback and resulting outcome.
7. How do you think you create space for learning in your work?

(Wait for answer then ask these...)

- a. How do you make comparisons between 'planned' and 'actual' activities? Do you analyse them for decision making and learning? Give some examples.
- b. How does the organisation react to learning that challenges the strategic plan or challenges its assumptions? Given an example.

External Goals

8. From your experiences, can you tell us about the strategies you practice to influence the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people?

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems of influencing the external environment and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation undertake?
- (b) What was the process taken?
- (c) Who was involved?

Refer to the strategies to influence the external environment and discuss each of the practices.

9. You have identified that influencing practices that exist are **(mention them)**. What do you think are the facilitating factors and what are the constraints?

10. How do you think the work of this organisation is influenced by the external environment?

(Wait for answer then ask ...)

How do you think this organisation has influenced the external environment in a bid to enhance HIV prevention among young people? Share experiences that have led you to your response.

Purpose: to identify if the organisation reviews its environment and how they are working at developing an enabling environment for HIV prevention.

11. What do you feel an enabling environment will look like that will enable achievement of HIV prevention among young people?

12. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in the work of the organisation?

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

III. FGD: Young people

Organisation:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

To start with, I will ask you for information through a fun activity! Later I will ask questions and put your pictures up to remind you of what you have drawn.

Activity

Draw a map/picture of your community showing your schools, homes, clinics, hospitals, clinics, shops, recreation areas, etc. Also show places where young people spend their time that makes them get HIV.

(Pause; for every feature ask why)

Draw a map/picture showing what you dream your community should look like so that young people do not get HIV.

(Pause; for every feature ask why)

Internal Goals

1. This organisation is providing you services (**mention them**) to help you with HIV prevention.

(a) What is working well?

(Wait for answer then ask...)

(b) How do you think these services help young people with HIV prevention?

(c) If this organisation was not able to provide these services would you seek (look for) them elsewhere? Why?

2. How do you think this organisation can improve their services to you?

(Wait for answer then ask...)

(a) Have you ever shared your ideas with them? Give an example of how this occurred and any changes that were made.

External Goals

3. Look at the pictures you have drawn.

(a) What are the good things that go on in young people's lives in your community that helps them with HIV prevention?

(Wait for answer then ask...)

(b) What are the not so good things that do not help with HIV prevention?

Purpose (a and b): To identify some important influences that young people experience in their daily lives?

(c) Do you think this organisation is aware about and understands these experiences so as to assist young people with HIV prevention? Why?

4. Close you eyes and picture a dream world. What do you feel a good environment looks like that will help young people with not getting HIV?

5. What do you feel young people must do so that they make sure they do not get HIV?

Purpose: to identify institutionalized compliance procedures.

6. What thoughts and ideas has this discussion made you have?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence on the young people?

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

University of Cape Town

IV. Individual in-depth interviews: Partner organisation

Organisation:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

1. The case-study organisation (... **mention name**) is providing HIV prevention services to young people. Tell me about your partnership.
2. How do you share good practices with the sample organisation?
3. From your experience, how have you contributed to influencing the practices of the organisation?
4. How do you think this organisation is effective in influencing the lives of young people? Why?
5. From your experience, in what ways does the work of this organisation influence the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people? Give some examples.
6. What do you feel an enabling environment looks like that will ensure achievement of HIV prevention among young people?
7. How do you assist in creating an enabling environment?

8. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in their work and partnership

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

University of Cape Town

V. Individual in-depth interviews: Donors

Organisation:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date: Kilometers

1. Please could you tell me about your partnership with this organisation?
2. How do you assist this organisation achieve their internal organisational goals?
3. How do you assist this organisation achieve their external social goals of HIV prevention among young people?
4. From your experience, how do you think your organisation (... **mention name**) has contributed to influencing the practices of this organisation?
5. How do you think your organisation (... **mention name**) has encourage this organisation to learn and create space for learning?
Purpose: to identify if learning occurs from work experiences and the environment
6. How does your organisation (... **mention name**) encourage this organisation to include young people in the intervention design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation?
7. How do you think the work of this organisation is effective in influencing the lives of young people? Why?

8. From your experience, how has this organisation influenced the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people? Give some examples.
9. What do you feel an enabling environment looks like that will ensure achievement of HIV prevention among young people?
10. How do you feel your organisation (... **mention name**) can assist this organisation in influencing the external environment so that it is conducive for effective HIV prevention among young people?
11. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?
Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in their work and partnership

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

Good Practice in Development Management

Dissertation Research

I

(Full Name - printed) agree to transcribe the digital recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them.

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In these interviews – I am the Interviewer, so start every statement I say with: I:

The “other person/people” is/are the Participant(s), so start everything they say with: P:

It is like looking at a script when you’re done. You have to capture everything as if you are there in the room. That means:

- When there is any pause (4-5 seconds or more (roughly) type : ...
- When there is laughter, type: (laughter)
- If there is an interruption in the room, type: (interruption)
- If you can’t tell what is being said after re-listening to it, type: (????)
- If there are any comments in Xhosa or Afrikaans, type it out and indicate the language: (e.g. Xhosa) and then type out the translation in to English as well.
- If there are any comments in Xhosa or Afrikaans that you do not understand, type: (Xhosa/Afrikaans !?)

The text-books estimate that 1 hour of interviewing can take up to 3-5 hours to transcribe and should result in approximately a 25 page document when done. When finished, call me to arrange a meeting or e-mail the document to me with the document title in the “subject” line. Keep a copy on your hard drive until I confirm safe receipt.

Thanks!

Roselyn Kareithi, 021 685 4103 (office); 021 713 2118; 083 462 2428; rkareithi@telkomsa.net

Annex G: List of participating organisations

1. ACTS South Africa
2. City of Cape Town
3. Community Development Resource Association (CDRA)
4. Cornerstone Christian College
5. Fikelela
6. Grassroot Soccer
7. Hoops and Soccer for Hope
8. Hope *worldwide* South Africa; now Olive Leaf Foundation
9. Ikamva Labantu
10. Medical Research Council
11. Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA)
12. South African Monitoring and Evaluation Association (SAMEA)
13. Southern Hemisphere Consulting and Development Services
14. Spades Youth Development Agency
15. Steenberg High School
16. Stellenbosch University
17. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
18. University of Cape Town
 - a. Adolescent Health Research Unit (AHRU)
 - b. Centre for Higher Education Development
 - c. Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
 - d. HIV and AIDS Co-ordination (HAICU)
19. Western Cape Provincial Department of Education
20. Western Cape Provincial Department of Health
21. Youth Guilders

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Performance of development NGOs in HIV prevention for young people

Roselyn Njeri Marandu Kareithi

**Thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**



**Department of Psychiatry and Mental Health,
University of Cape Town**

April 2012

**This thesis is dedicated to my loving husband Dr Samuel Wanjau Kareithi,
daughters Lynn Nyathogora Kareithi and Wambugo Kareithi, Associate
Professor Crick Lund and to the late Professor Alan J. Flisher for their never
ending belief that I can make it**

University of Cape Town

Statement of original authorship

This thesis is presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), University of Cape Town. Academic supervisors were the late Prof Alan J. Flisher and A/Prof Crick Lund. The work on which the thesis is based is original research and has not, in whole or in part, been submitted for another degree at this or any other university. The contents of this doctoral thesis are entirely the work of the candidate, who conceptualised and carried out the research project. The six co-authored journal articles included in this thesis are directly based on the research project, and constitute work for which the candidate was the lead author and the academic supervisor was the second author. The inclusion of papers is outlined in the preface of this thesis, and the role of each author described in the introduction to each paper.

Roselyn N. M. Kareithi

22nd July 2011

Preface

This doctoral thesis includes published/to be published journal articles, as per general provision 6.7 in the General Rules for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) of the University of Cape Town. The submission of the thesis in this format was approved by the University Doctoral Degree Board on 29th March 2011. The thesis itself is not simply a compilation of relevant publications. All papers are directly on the thesis topic, forming a single-themed, cohesive body of work.

All papers have only two authors. The candidate is the lead and corresponding author. She provided the lead intellectual drive in every case through formulation of the research project, design, data collection, analysis, and writing of the journal articles. The second author is her academic supervisor; initially the late Prof Alan J. Flisher, and then A/Prof Crick Lund. The contribution of the supervisor was to ensure that the methodology was sound, findings stated clearly, and papers written in the format required by journals. The supervisors also critically reviewed and approved the manuscripts before submission to journals. The candidate assessed their comments and integrated them, where necessary.

The following six papers are included as part of this thesis:

1. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Flisher, A. J. (forthcoming-under review). Performance of development NGOs: A systematic literature review. *Journal of International Development*.
2. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (forthcoming-under review-a). Characteristics of development NGO performance research 1996-2008: A systematic review. *South African Journal of Science*.
3. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Flisher, A. J. (2009). Location of development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, **24** (2): 9-36.
4. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (forthcoming-under review-b). Development NGO management practices: A multiple case study in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*.
5. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (forthcoming-under review-c). Understanding influences of the social and economic environment on HIV prevention: Drawings and voices of young people in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance (SAHARA J)*.

6. Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (submitted to the *African Journal of AIDS Research*) Influencing the external environment for HIV prevention among young people: Fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water.

Final version was published as:

Kareithi, R. N. M. and Lund, C. (2011). Obstacles to creating an environment conducive to HIV prevention for young people. *African Journal of AIDS Research*, **10** (4): 465-477.

All papers were submitted to different journals in the style required by the respective journals. In this thesis, a consistent referencing style has been used throughout and all references are provided at the end of the thesis.

University of Cape Town

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My appreciation also goes to the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Health Sciences, Dr Andrew Boule and Dr Tracey Naledi then of the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health, and to the Doctoral Degree Board for consent to conduct this research. I also extend special thanks to all the NGO Directors, NGO Programme Staff, Young People, Partner Organisations and Donors who participated in my research. It was a great privilege to learn from you as you shared your knowledge, experiences, opinions and dreams.

I am also indebted to my supervisors. First, the late Prof Alan J. Flisher who confidently and most ably agreed to mentor me, though we were in totally different fields; he in psychiatry and I in development studies. His untimely departure from this world in 2010 was truly a great shock to me personally and to many others. I will always remember his humorous laughter and great words of wisdom. Second, I am deeply grateful to Associate Prof Crick Lund who bravely consented to take up the supervising task, and tirelessly steered me on to the very end. I hope my supervisors learnt much from me, as I did from them. Finally, appreciation goes to the University of Cape Town, Steve Bantu Biko Fellowship Programme, for funding assistance.

Executive summary

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have emerged as crucial players in providing HIV prevention services to young people in South Africa. However, despite the numerous primary HIV prevention interventions, the HIV incidence among young people has not reduced as expected. A large body of research has investigated this from the perspective of individual behaviour, but no academic research was found that examined the situation from the viewpoint of organisational functioning, particularly from a development management perspective.

The concept of development management, as with public management, states that organisations should not only get the work done by the best means available, hence meet set internal organisational goals, but should go beyond that into intervening in social change processes and influencing the external environment. This is in order to achieve external social goals.

This thesis represents an attempt to increase research in NGO management, particularly on their performance in development management. The fieldwork centres on HIV prevention among young people in Cape Town, South Africa. The overarching aim was to develop a framework to guide development NGOs to improve their development management performance. The objectives were to conduct a systematic literature review on the performance of development NGOs; to develop a typology of NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town; to identify existing development management practices; to identify factors that encourage and those that hinder the emergence of development management practices; to develop a framework for good practice in development management; and, to make recommendations that can inform policy on the provision of primary HIV prevention services to young people.

The results of this thesis are presented in six journal articles, which address the above aim and objectives. The first two papers present findings of the systematic literature review of academic journal articles published worldwide between 1996 and 2008. The systematic search identified 31 relevant articles on factors influencing NGO performance. The first paper presents detailed findings on facilitating and constraining factors, which shows that NGOs are influenced by an intricate web of factors. Analysis of these factors shows that NGOs utilise three main strategies to make decisions; first, to build and sustain organisational competence and reputation;

second, to achieve developmental goals for their targeted beneficiaries; and third, to comply with contractual agreements with their donors. Depending on the perspective one takes, NGO action can be regarded as either rational or irrational..

The second paper examines characteristics of the research on NGO performance in terms of the number of publications; publication outlets; author affiliation; and study location, period, topics, and methods. It shows a steady increase in the number of articles, although the total numbers are few. Studies mainly collect data from NGO directors, programme staff and donors. Few collect data from beneficiaries indicating that the rhetoric of beneficiary participation seems not to have infiltrated into NGO performance research. Findings further convincingly reveal the low number of published researchers in this field in developing countries, more so in Africa, and the nature of collaborative efforts between the 'North' and 'South' academics, and hence the need to advocate for policy makers to intensively identify, support and nurture African based social scientists.

The third paper is based on a mapping study conducted between October 2006 and August 2007. It found 93 NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Metropolitan area of Cape Town. Location analysis of offices and sites of service provision in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates shows that the sheer numbers of NGOs do not translate into significant targeting of either offices or service sites within higher HIV prevalence areas.

The remaining three papers are based on a multiple-case study of four purposively selected NGOs. Key data collection methods for the fieldwork were open-ended interviews, focus group discussions, and drawings. Data were collected from multiple informants. Internal sources of data included the NGO directors and programme staff. Information obtained was triangulated by collecting data from sources external to the organisations; namely young people, partner organisations and donors. The multiple-case study was conducted between October 2007 and August 2008, with the systematic collection of data from multiple informants from one NGO, before moving to the next. Initial findings were disseminated and discussed at a seminar held on 22nd September 2008, to which all the sources of data were invited. The seminar was attended not only by the multiple-case study NGOs, but also young people, government officials, donors, development consultants, practitioners and academics.

Based on the results of the review of literature, an amendment was made to the Project Cycle Management to formulate the Development NGO Management Cycle. In a single integrated framework, it combines key performance management principles that emerged from the literature. Different practices in the framework include needs identification, strategic location, beneficiary participation, strategic planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, influencing the environment, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. This framework is presented in the fourth paper, where it is utilised as the conceptual lens to examine the management practices of the four sampled NGOs. Findings show that the NGOs generally concentrated on strategic location and implementation compared to other management practices. Most challenging were needs assessment, influencing the external environment, reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation.

The fifth paper examines the perceptions of young people, living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities, regarding their social and economic environment in the context of HIV prevention. Evidence shows that several adverse influences inhibit young people's compliance to HIV prevention messages. Key factors included negative social norms; inadequate recreational facilities; crime; chronic poverty; inadequate parent/guardian-child relationship; and, inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders. Policy recommendations on the provision of primary HIV preventions interventions to young people are discussed.

The sixth paper explores how NGOs endeavour to influence the external environment, and the challenges they face in attempting to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. Findings show that NGOs practise a combination of strategies encompassing inter-organisational relationships, influencing policy, and championing by example. Key constraints to influencing practices include fear of losing legitimacy; inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity; perceived deviation from work; inadequate funding; burden of value-based messages; and, leaving it to young people.

The components of the entire research design represent a unique example of combining multiple methods and multiple sources of data. For instance, the research has formulated and presented the Development NGO Management Cycle, which moves the Project Cycle Management forward by incorporating essential practices of

development and performance management. Further, the inclusion of the voices of young people and the resulting wealth of data generated indicates that young people are acutely aware of their environment, and that they can be effective participants in development management research. Findings vividly show that the environment in low resource communities is not conducive for HIV prevention among young people. Furthermore, NGOs seemed to generally direct their efforts towards influencing young people, with less effort directed at influencing other players, to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. It is clear that with the obstacles NGOs face in influencing their external environment, they struggle to extend their work beyond programme delivery into the inclusion of the voices of young people and the community. Thus only a narrow, albeit critical, part of the social change processes are considered and the role of NGOs as change agents tends to be muted. Additionally, the role of NGOs in driving the HIV prevention agenda has been marginalised, particularly with the explicit agenda of government, a primary donor, to utilize its power in the aid chain to minimise the ability of NGOs to advocate for change. This brings forth new knowledge that service delivery without influencing the external environment to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention simply will perpetuate “fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water”, in the words of one participant. To address this, and to contribute to existing knowledge, this research has formulated and presented the Framework for Institutionalising Development Management. Overall, this research, and the publication of various articles, has contributed to increasing research on NGO management in South Africa and Africa as a whole, and has furthered the frontiers of learning in development studies.

Key words:

Development Management; development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); HIV prevention; influencing external environment; NGO management; multiple-case study; NGO performance; performance management; South Africa; young people.

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Abbreviations

AHRU	Adolescent Health Research Unit
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ART	Anti-retroviral Therapy
ARV(s)	Anti-retroviral(s)
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development
CAT(s)	Community Action Team(s)
CBO(s)	Community Based Organisation(s)
CSOs	Civil Society Organisation(s)
DFID	Department for International Development
DM	Development Management
DNMC	Development NGO Management Cycle
FBO(s)	Faith Based Organisation(s)
FGD(s)	Focus Group Discussion(s)
FIDM	Framework for Institutionalising Development Management
GRO(s)	Grassroots Organisations
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
INGO(s)	International Non-Governmental Organisation(s)
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MER	Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting
MRC	Medical Research Council
MS	Microsoft
NACOSA	Networking HIV/AIDS Community of South Africa
NGDO(s)	Non-Governmental Development Organisation(s)
NGO(s)	Non-Governmental Organisation(s)
NNGO(s)	National Non-Governmental Organisation(s)
NPO(s)	Not-for Profit Organisation(s) or Non Profit Organisation(s)
PCM	Project Cycle Management
PVO(s)	Private Voluntary Organisation(s)
RBM	Results-Based Management
RHRU	Reproductive Health Research Unit
STI(s)	Sexually Transmitted Infection(s)
UCT	University of Cape Town

UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organisation
YP-GN	Young people in Gugulethu/Nyanga
YP-Kh	Young people in Khayelitsha
YP-MP	Young people in Mitchell's Plain

University of Cape Town

PART A

Chapter 1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research. It starts with a brief background to the research. It then moves on to the research problem, justification of the research, central research question with its aims and objectives, methodology and delimitations. The chapter ends with a brief outline of the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Background to the research

The sixth Millennium Development Goal (MDG) calls for the halt of the HIV and AIDS pandemic particularly through increased effective prevention strategies. South Africa has emerged as “the epicentre of the global epidemic” or “ground zero for the pandemic” (Rohleder, *et al.*, 2010, p.1) with the highest number of HIV infections in the world. Approximately 5.7 million people were HIV positive in 2009 (UNAIDS, 2008; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Republic of South Africa, 2010) out of a population of approximately 49.32 million (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Thus HIV and AIDS is a key challenge in South Africa (Mbali, 2003; Department of Health South Africa, 2007).

The highest HIV incidence is among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Shisana, *et al.*, 2005; UNAIDS and WHO, 2005; Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). Research findings have noted, with concern, the higher HIV prevalence in females (Pettifor, *et al.*, 2004; Shisana, *et al.*, 2005). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), approximately 192,000 new infections occur per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007).

The sexual behaviour of young people is crucial to their risk of acquiring HIV and other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs). The Medical Research Council (MRC) conducted the First South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey in 2002, in which they studied learners between grades 8 and 11. The MRC reports that 41% of the learners had had sex, of which 14% first experienced sexual activity under 14 years of age, 54% had more than one sexual partner, 14% had had sex after consuming alcohol or drugs, and only 29% practised consistent condom usage (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003). Narrowing down to the Western Cape, 37.8% (Male 45.1% and Female

32.7%) of the learners had had sex (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003). Other surveys report similar risky sexual behaviour; 30.5% of Anglican church-going young people aged 12 to 19 years had had sex (40% Male and 21% Female), 66% had more than one sexual partner, and 29% perceived that their partner was not faithful (Mash, Kareithi and Mash, 2006).

Research evidence points to the complexity of sexual behaviour. HIV risk behaviour is influenced by factors within the person, and also interplays with their environments (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003; Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007; Power, Langhaug and Cowan, 2007; Mathews, *et al.*, 2009). As young people bear the brunt of new HIV infections, targeting them in prevention efforts is a vital strategic approach towards halting the spread of HIV (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007). Adolescence has further been identified as the most important time to conduct education on safer sexual practices, when sexual behaviour patterns are not yet entrenched (Kaaya, *et al.*, 2002; Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003). Primary HIV prevention among young people is thus a fundamental area of focus. According to UNAIDS, key services include public information campaigns directed at young people about sexually transmitted infections and the spread of HIV, Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) at youth-friendly clinics, and peer education programmes (UNAIDS, 2005; UNAIDS, 2006b).

By 2007 “there was no evidence of a decrease in HIV infection levels among young people” in South Africa (UNAIDS and WHO, 2007, p.12). HIV has continued to spread despite various efforts, and comprehensive policies and interventions have not stemmed new HIV infections (UNAIDS, 2007). The efforts to reduce HIV incidence seem to be faltering (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007), and prevention campaigns have not had the desired impact, particularly among young people (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). However, a report released by the HSRC in 2009 shows promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers in South Africa (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009). Nonetheless, there is need for caution as the infection rate may have stabilised at a high level.

From the onset of the HIV and AIDS epidemic in South Africa, development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are reported to have emerged as crucial players in two main roles: to research, develop and deliver services, and to advocate and influence policy (Rau, 2007; AIDS Foundation South Africa, 2009; AVERT, 2009;

SANGONeT, 2009). This is consistent with international literature, which indicates that NGOs play a significant role in development (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Fisher, 1998; Lewis and Wallace, 2000; Tandon, 2000; Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Lewis, 2002; Rusteberg, Appel and Dqbrowska, 2004; Gray, Bebbington and Collison, 2006; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006; Lewis, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Lewis, 2007; Rahman, 2007; Werker and Ahmed, 2008; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b). NGOs are recognised globally not only as influential instruments of social, economic, political, educational, health, and cultural development, but also as central to contemporary development practice and discourse.

With increased recognition of the roles NGOs play, NGO performance has become an important topic of global concern. Interest has risen from NGO practitioners, governments, citizens, foundations, international aid agencies and other donors, policy makers, observers interested in accountability, performance and organisational effectiveness, as well as academics concerned with NGOs. Intensification of literature and research work on development NGO performance can be attributed to Edwards and Hulme (1995b; 1996a), who published books which collected writings on NGO performance. Edwards and Hulme (1996b) caution that the case for emphasising the role of NGOs rests on ideological grounds in the absence of empirical verification, pointing out that NGOs are not a “magic bullet” for development challenges. Several scholars have joined in the call for more empirical research on NGOs (see, for example, Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), indicating that NGO management and research are relatively new and underdeveloped fields (Lewis, 2005; Lewis, 2006).

1.2 Research problem and rationale

Despite the pivotal role NGOs play in South Africa in the health sector generally, and more so in HIV prevention service provision particularly to young people, there is relatively sparse academic literature on development NGOs. This research endeavoured to contribute to filling this gap by examining the development management of NGOs, with the fieldwork focused on NGOs that deliver prevention interventions to young people. Development management, the main theoretical conceptualisation applied in this research, calls for development organisations not only to get the work done by the best means available hence meet set goals by

coordinating internal organisational resources, but to also go beyond that into intervening in social change processes and influencing the environment in order to achieve external social goals (Thomas, 1996; Thomas, 1999).

Research on NGO performance from a development management perspective is important for a number of reasons:

- First, NGOs are reported to be key providers of HIV prevention services to young people, yet in South Africa there is little academic research on the performance of development NGOs in this regard. Additionally, commissioned performance assessment reports remain confidential documents (Cassen, 1986). In particular, no academic research was found that examined the development management of NGOs providing primary HIV prevention services to young people. Undertaking and increasing research in South Africa on NGO performance is therefore essential.
- Second, whilst there is increased recognition globally of the role NGOs play, concern remains over NGO performance with demands and pressures for improved management for results (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). There is thus need for research to enhance understanding on factors that influence the performance of NGOs.
- Third, no framework on development management was found in the literature. Additionally, review of the literature shows that there is a tendency to separate strategies of achieving internal organisational goals from those of achieving external social goals. It is therefore important to develop a simple, yet comprehensive management framework, to guide development managers into enhancing their performance by improving their development management practices.
- Fourth, development management literature emphasises the need to understand the environment within which development interventions operate (Johnson and Thomas, 2002). It is thus important to examine the internal and external environments of NGOs, utilising a multiple-constituency approach (Rojas, 2000; Herman and Renz, 2004), which incorporates the opinion of both internal and external key stakeholders.
- Fifth, as part of understanding the environment, literature indicates that the location of NGOs is crucial. However, academic research on the geographical choice of NGOs remains undeveloped (Koch, 2007). Initial investigation shows that although there are a few databases on HIV and

AIDS organisations in South Africa, no academic study was found on the location choices of these NGOs. Therefore, there is need to examine the location of NGOs, and further make analysis in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates.

In light of the above observations, there was thus the need for this research to be undertaken. It was a “testing-out research” (Phillips and Pugh, 2000) to explore development management in practice among development NGOs.

1.3 Scope

This research represents an attempt to address the above issues by exploring development management among NGOs. The coverage of the fieldwork was limited to NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people within the geographical area of Cape Town, South Africa.

1.4 Aim

The main aim of this research was to develop a framework of good practice in development management, to guide development NGOs into improving their performance in providing HIV prevention services to young people.

The central research question addressed was:

In what ways might development NGOs that offer primary HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town endeavour to improve the achievement of both internal organisational and external social goals?

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the research were:

1. To conduct a systematic literature review on the performance of development NGOs, and identify influencing factors.
2. To develop a grid of organisations that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa, and populate it with data on the type of organisation, location and nature of the services provided.

3. To identify existing development management practices in a multiple-case study of development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention services to young people.
4. To identify factors that encouraged and factors that hindered the emergence of development management practices.
5. To formulate a framework of good practice in development management.
6. To make recommendations that can inform policy on the provision of primary HIV prevention services to young people.

1.6 Research design

Given the need to gather systematic, valid and reliable data aimed at understanding and interpreting (Phillips and Pugh, 2000), both primary and secondary data were gathered. The study design was guided by the research objectives, developed to address the central research question. **Figure 1.1** summarises the outline of the research design.

Further, a link was made between the research objectives and questions with the best methods identified to generate data from the chosen data sources (Mason, 2002). This is summarised in **Table 1.1**.

Figure 1.1: Outline of the research design

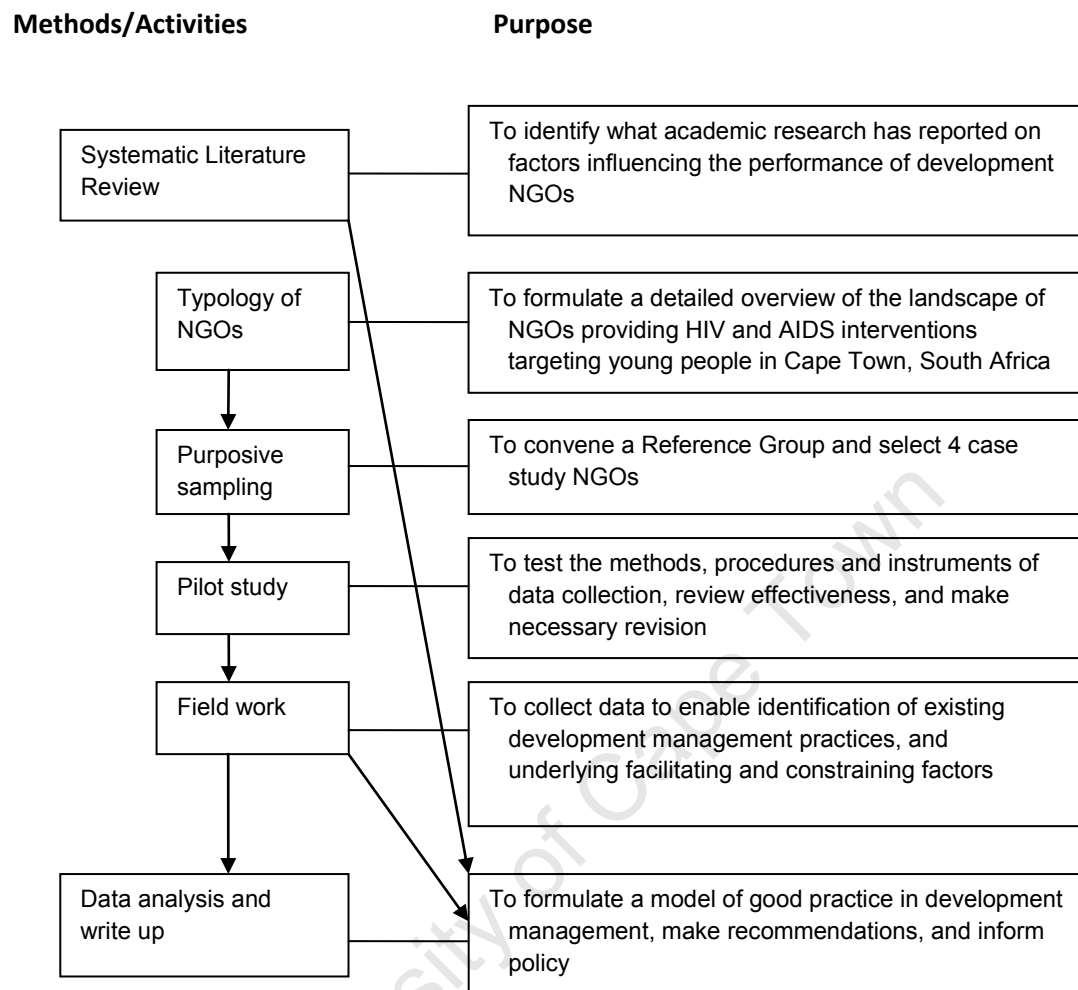


Table 1.1: Linking research objectives and questions with methods

Research objectives	Research question	Data sources	Methods	Justification
1. Conduct a systematic literature review	What has academic literature reported on the performance of development NGOs and the underlying factors? Who researches NGO performance and how is it conducted?	Published literature between 1995 and 2008	Systematic documentary identification, data extraction and analysis	The systematic review provided an objective, comprehensive and synthesised summary of the best published evidence on the performance of development NGOs. Given the volume of data extracted, the review provided further insight into whether academic research seeks the views and opinions of beneficiaries.
2. Develop typology	What does the landscape of NGOs providing HIV/AIDS interventions to young people reveal? Are NGO strategically located?	Data bases on organisations, and contact with some NGOs where there were gaps existed	Documentary analysis, and questionnaire interview	A typology development was necessary to formulate a detailed overview on NGOs providing HIV/AIDS interventions targeting young people in Cape Town. This was further utilised in purposive sampling.
3. Identify existing development management practices	What development management processes do the sampled case-study NGOs practice?	NGO Directors	Interviews	Interviews with NGO managers provided their accounts on the performance of the organisation and underlying factors.
4. Identify underlying factors	What are the facilitating factors? What are the constraining factors?	NGO Programme Managers and Programme Staff	Focus Group Discussions and drawings	Discussions with programme staff who provided primary HIV prevention services to young people provided their experiences and accounts on their work and influencing factors
		NGO Partner Organisations	Interviews	Interviews with partners provided their views and opinions on the performance of NGOs, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
		NGO Donors	Interviews	Interviews with donors provided their accounts and additional insights on the performance of NGOs, including ways in which they influence NGOs, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
		Young People	Focus Group Discussions and drawings	Discussions with young people provided a lucid picture on their external context, and their experiences, views and opinion on services rendered by NGOs.
5. Formulate model of good practice in development management 6. Make recommendations and inform policy	What key good practices must development NGOs and their stakeholders embrace? What recommendations have emerged from this research? Which recommendations have policy implications that can inform the provision of HIV prevention services to young people?	All sources used in the study	All methods used in the study Seminar presentations and plenary discussions PhD Thesis, journal articles, conference and seminar presentation	Consolidation of data built a comprehensive picture Disseminate and discuss preliminary findings and emerging recommendations from the empirical research. Disseminate the research findings as widely as possible.

1.7 Key definitions

1.7.1 Development NGOs

Development literature indicates that the definition of NGOs is complex, contested and controversial (see, for example, Spar and Dail, 2002; Goddard and Assad, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Lewis, 2007). The term NGO and NPO are used interchangeably in the literature, and refer to a diverse set of institutions. NGOs generally serve the public sector and engage in long and short-term development, and humanitarian and emergency relief. However, a few NGOs are known to serve private purposes.

Development literature further shows that there are many different categories of NGOs that serve the public interest. These include Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Grassroots Organisations (GROs), Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Non Profit Organisations (NPOs), Private Voluntary Organisations (PVOs), National NGOs (NNGOs), Regional NGOs (RNGOs), International NGOs (INGOs) charities, third sector organisations, among others. These terms seem to be based on the nature of registration, NGO activities, level of operation, and the terms used in the country of operation.

Thus, NGOs are not a homogenous group, and they serve both public and private sector interests (see, for example, Matthews, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Additionally, there is no consensus on limits of the NGO world (Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006).

Despite the fact that there are blurred boundaries on NGO definition and activities, development scholars agree that NGOs predominantly serve the public sector. Edwards and Hulme (1995b) refer to NGOs as intermediary organisations engaged in funding or offering forms of support to communities and other organisations. NGOs are also defined as Non-Government Development Organisations (NGDO) formed voluntarily and operate on a not-for-profit basis (Kelly and Chapman, 2003). Fowler (1997) states that NGOs are voluntary, non-profit, non-governmental organisations working within the framework of international development co-operation. He further argues that the term NGO is misleading and added clarity by utilising the term NGDO to refer to development NGOs. Robinson (1999) stresses that contrary to common misconception, although NGOs provide support to government they are not simply

acting as implementers, gap-fillers, or contractors in government-defined systems; NGOs are change agents that set out to influence government policies and practices. Unerman and O'Dwyer (2006) further elaborate that NGOs are neither governmental (public sector) organisations (such as central or local government services or public hospitals, schools or universities), nor private (for-profit) commercial organisations (such as local and transnational corporations).

In setting delimitations, this research adopts the use of the term NGO rather than NPO. It focuses on development NGOs, from grassroots to international level, involved in long-term development work. Hereafter, the term NGOs is utilised as a short-hand for development NGOs.

NGOs occupy a unique gap in society for they provide services to communities (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Thus the motivation of NGOs is how to make a difference in the lives of the beneficiaries of their work (Gosling, 2008). The British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) indicates that there is a consensus among development NGOs that their primary accountability is to their beneficiaries (Gosling, 2008). This research further adopts the view that beneficiaries are primary stakeholders of NGOs, and thus their interests and expectations are of paramount importance.

1.7.2 Project Cycle Management

Development interventions tend to occur within projects (Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001), and NGOs, like other development organisations, use numerous approaches for project performance management. Common to many of these approaches is the familiar Project Cycle Management (PCM) (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Cracknell, 2000).

According to Cracknell (2000) Baum W.C, an economist with the World Bank, developed the cycle in the 1970s as a rational way of conceptualising and then managing projects. The cycle consists of various progressive phases. The number of stages, and names given to each stage, varies from one organisation to another. The PCM has evolved over many years, with the continuous stream of ideas that attempt to transform theory into practice, and vice versa. It has also developed from a single loop, with a number of defined stages from start to end, to a double loop cycle or

spiral, which involves repeating the processes again with improved performance recognising that development is a long-term process of change. Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Although the PCM has limitations (see, for example, Biggs and Smith, 2003; Brett, 2003), it is used in this research as it has become a standard tool in international development to bring about planned change.

1.7.3 Development management

Since the 1990s, research in the theory and practice of development management has grown (see, for example, Hewitt and Johnson, 1999; Cooke, 2001; Lewis, 2002; Cooke, 2004; Abbott, Brown and Wilson, 2007; Lewis, 2007; Brinkerhoff, 2008; Dar and Cooke, 2008; Mowles, Stacey and Griffin, 2008; Gulrajani, 2009). Theorists have offered numerous definitions of development management, resulting in several contrasting views. For instance, some argue that development management is development administration or public administration, which has evolved from colonial administration and is a control mechanism. Others regard development management as a theory of planning and a means to describe the planning process. This contestation has reached the extent where “questioning of the theoretical underpinnings of development management can trigger energetic defensiveness” (Mowles, Stacey and Griffin, 2008, p.805), and has led to an emerging field of study referred to as critical development management (Dar and Cooke, 2008; Gulrajani, 2009).

Lewis (2005; 2007) puts forward two fundamental problems of development management. First, there is no broad agreement on the definition of development management due to the complexities that arise in efforts to combine concepts of “management” and “development”. Second, there is no agreement on the nature of development tasks and activities that need to be managed because activities are wide-ranging, and the terrain is highly contested. Nonetheless, Lewis (2007) indicates that NGO management forms a sub-set of wider development management, and is an emerging specialised field that goes beyond existing business management and public sector administration science.

In this research, the notion of development management is embraced as defined by Thomas (1996; 1999). Thomas contends that development management is a distinctive form of management with several features that distinguish it from what he termed as “conventional management”. Conventional management focuses on using resources to get the work done by the best means available, hence achieve organisational goals by co-ordinating internal organisational resources. In contrast, conceptual underpinnings of development management extend beyond internal organisational goals, towards directing effort to meet social goals external to any particular organisation. It involves management in the context of development as a long-term historical process, and management of deliberate efforts or specific tasks in interventions aimed at progressive social change by various agencies, where goals and interests are subject to value-based conflicts. It has a long-term focus aimed at external social goals rather than simply ensuring successful implementation of development projects (Thomas, 1996; Thomas, 1999; Thomas, 2007). Similarly, the concept of public management requires development managers to organise, motivate others and direct action towards the creation and achievement of public goals (Lynn Jr, 2003; Ferlie, Lynn Jr and Pollitt, 2007).

The external environment is also referred to as external context, landscape, terrain, public sphere or strategic arena. According to Robinson and Thomas (2002, p.7) the concept of strategic arena is “a way of thinking about the area of concern in which particular interventions are situated. A strategic arena will be defined more or less broadly in terms of geographic coverage, sectoral scope, and range of stakeholder involvement...if those involved in particular interventions take a strategic perspective it will imply considering their involvement in relation to other stakeholders’ actions and other possible interventions, in other words as part of their general stance within that whole arena”.

Intervening in social change processes and influencing the external environment within which organisations operate is done in a bid to enhance services provided to beneficiaries (Hewitt and Johnson, 1999; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000; Camay and Gordon, 2002; Kareithi, 2004; Thomas, 2007). It further involves managing more effective interdependence in public action, which includes and excludes a range of actors and agendas (Robinson, 1999); and embedding reflections for learning beyond operational management challenges towards joint learning opportunities with other stakeholders (Abbott, Brown and Wilson, 2007).

Effort of development managers must be directed to the public sphere aimed at meeting external social goals to improve the quality of people's lives (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). Development management is thus embedded in public action and includes the effort of the state/government, NGOs, community groups, international development organisations, aid agencies, media, and the private sector, among others. The concept of 'public action' means "purposive collective action" (Mackintosh, 1992, p.5). The arena of public action by various agencies forms the public sphere (Mackintosh, 1992). According to Campbell and Gibbs (2008, p.196), the public sphere "can be conceptualised as a tapestry, with many interwoven threads contributing to its dominant representations". Hence, development management is regarded as a set of tools for managing development interventions, as well as an interdisciplinary field, and "a means of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of development programmes and projects" (Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005: 35).

Whilst acknowledging that development management is a contested field with inherent ambiguities, and hence not above reproach (Thomas, 2007), the concept of development management is used in this research as a distinctive form of management. It includes two inter-related dimensions of organisational functioning, internal and external, which are constantly changing and influencing each other. Worthy of note here, is that literature traditionally separates organisational management strategies from what is termed advocacy strategies. In addition, what is missing from the literature is a framework that explicitly combines the achievement of internal organisation goals and external social goals. Development management makes an explicit recognition that the work of development organisations is to achieve both internal organisational goals and external social goals. According to Johnson and Thomas (2002) development organisations need to adequately manage their internal activities in ways that facilitate achievement of external social goals.

This research takes up the stand that it is not enough to simply manage a development organisation, efficiently and effectively carry out planned activities, and ensure successful implementation of development interventions. Rather, development organisations must go further and acknowledge influences exerted by contextual factors, and make explicit effort to influence them.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

This thesis has three parts. **Part A**, with the introduction chapter, has introduced the research, statement of the problem, rationale, scope, aim and objectives. It has also expounded on the main concepts utilised in this research.

Part B, with chapters 2 to 7, presents six journal articles as submitted for publication in various journals. Generally, each article presents detailed information on the aim, method, findings, discussion, recommendations and conclusions. The first and second articles are based on analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data extracted from the systematic literature review. The third article on NGO location is based on data obtained from the grid developed from the mapping of NGOs providing young people with HIV and AIDS services in Cape Town. This grid forms the sampling frame. The remaining articles are based on the multiple-case study of the four purposively sampled NGOs. The papers explore NGO management practices, young people's perception of their socio-economic environment, and NGO efforts at influencing the external environment.

Each paper has a methodology section. Additional information, which does not form part of the papers, is in the **Appendix**. During the mapping exercise, a form was developed to guide the systematic and comprehensive collection of information on NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town. This is at **Annex A - NGOs in Cape Town: Data Collection Form**. The findings on the reach of NGOs in terms of age group, race, and nature of services provided are published in *HIVAIDS and Mental Health* (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b). In negotiating access to the multiple-case study NGOs, initial contact was made with the NGO Director, to whom the researcher introduced herself and the research project. The initial verbal introduction was followed by an e-mail letter; see **Annex B - Introductory Electronic Mail to NGO Directors**. Once the young people who participated in this research were selected by the NGO Programme Staff, consent forms were sent out to their parents/guardians in advance of the FGD; see **Annex C – Letter and Parental/Guardian Consent Form**. Young people participated in the FGDs only if they were willing and gave their verbal assent, and their parents/guardians had duly signed their consent forms. A **Check List**, see **Annex D**, was developed to guide the data collection and data management process. It included the supplies needed, and actions before and after gathering data. It also had details of the way in which the researcher introduced herself and the research project, with a simplified version to

young people, reassured respondents of confidentiality, and ways of recording and managing the data. A semi-structured questionnaire was utilised to gather information and guide discussions during the individual and group interviews. A different set of questions was formulated for each data set. See details at **Annex E (E1 to E5) - Interview and Focus Group Discussion Question Guides**. Adequate space was provided in the questionnaires where field notes were written down. The data collection process yielded 12 individual interviews, 8 FGDs, and 14 drawings. Information was obtained from 4 NGO directors, 21 programme staff, 37 young people, 4 partner organisations, and 4 donors; totally to 70 people. All individual and group interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim in English, and drawings photographed. Transcribing was done by qualified transcribers who signed a **Transcriber's Confidentiality Agreement**; see **Annex F**. After the initial data analysis, a seminar was convened, in September 2008, to which all informants were invited, along with some NGO academics, consultants, and practitioners. Preliminary findings were disseminated, initial interpretations verified, feedback sought and incorporated into the final analysis. The overall list of 21 organisations that participated in the fieldwork and seminar is at **Annex G – List of Participating Organisations**.

Part C presents chapter 8, which pulls the whole thesis together and provides the concluding discussion. To start with, a summary is made of the pertinent findings of each paper. Then the framework for the institutionalisation of development management, which encompasses good practice in development management, is presented. Thereafter, the way in which the research aim and objectives have been addressed across the various papers are stated, along with contributions of this study to existing knowledge in NGO performance and development management, and the main limitations of the thesis. Finally, recommendations are made for practice, future research and policy.

PART B

Chapter 2. Performance of development NGOs: A systematic literature review

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to study the underlying factors that influence the performance of development NGOs was hers. She studied how to perform a systematic literature review, searched for publications with guidance from UCT librarians, extracted data, analysed facilitating and constraining factors, and wrote the paper. Prof Flisher provided the supervision, detailed guidelines on how to perform a systematic literature review, ensured findings were clearly stated, and paper written in the format required by the journal.

Current status

Initial version was submitted on 28th December 2009 to the Journal of International Development. Comments from Reviewer 1 received on 26th November 2010; to revise and resubmit. Revised version submitted on 17th January 2011. Thereafter, comments from Reviewer 2 based on initial submission were received. Revised manuscript successfully submitted on 10th May 2011.

Abstract

NGO literature is widely dispersed in numerous publications and often laborious to find. This article attempts to enhance understanding of development NGO performance by collating and discussing influencing factors. A systematic review of academic journal articles, published between 1996 and 2008, identified 31 relevant papers. Findings on facilitators and constraints are presented then discussed from a rational choice perspective. The article argues that NGOs are influenced by an intricate web of factors, and puts forward three main standpoints NGOs utilise in making decisions. Depending on one's perspective, NGO action can be interpreted as either rational or irrational behaviour.

Keywords: development management; management; NGO; performance; performance management; systematic literature review

University of Cape Town

1. Introduction

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are recognised globally not only as influential instruments of social, economic, political, educational, health, and cultural development, but also as central to contemporary development strategies and discourse. The growing number of various types of NGOs¹, reasons for their proliferation, and the significant role they play in national and international development has been well documented (see, for example, Lewis and Wallace, 2000; Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Werker and Ahmed, 2008; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b).

Along with this, there has been increasing interest and concern over the performance of NGOs by development practitioners, governments, citizens, donors, policy makers, academics, and observers interested in accountability, performance and organisational effectiveness. The primary mission of NGOs is focused on development goals desired by their targeted beneficiaries and their communities. Hence, NGO performance should be assessed from their effectiveness as an organisation in assisting beneficiaries achieve set social goals. Intensification of literature and research work on NGO performance can be attributed to a collection of writings edited by Edwards and Hulme (1995b; 1996a). They point out that NGOs are not a 'magic bullet' for development challenges, and caution that NGOs' reputation rests on ideological grounds in the absence of empirical verification (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b). Scholars have continued calling for more empirical research on NGOs (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), indicating that NGO performance measurement, beyond project assessment, is relatively new (Fowler, 1996), while NGO management and research are underdeveloped fields (Lewis, 2005; Lewis, 2006).

Existing literature reflects a mixed perspective on NGO performance. On the one hand, NGOs have a reputation of being closer to the people (Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006); have a long-term focus providing services that government and private business sectors are unable or unwilling or fail to provide (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Hulme, 2008); and, respond to emerging social

¹ The diversity of NGO typology is a complex, contested and controversial matter (see, for example, Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Lewis, 2007), which is not engaged with here. This article refers to the broad category of development NGOs, from grassroot to international level involved in long-term development work; what Fowler (1998) refers to as NGDOs. This article uses the term NGO as shorthand for development NGOs.

problems even during difficult circumstances (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; Fowler, 1997; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). Additionally, NGOs are hailed as democratisers of development, sources of development alternatives, vehicles for popular participation, advocates of the poor (Bebbington, 2005), and players in disbursing aid (Edwards and Fowler, 2002). Some donors view NGOs as contributors to good governance, more cost effective than governments, and better value for money in reaching beneficiaries, mobilising communities and ensuring local growth (Fowler, 1998; Muhumuza, 2005; Werker and Ahmed, 2008). NGOs are also regarded as significant contributors to employment, with increasingly professional and competent staff who, in most cases, are motivated and passionate to the call (Brett, 1993; Fowler, 1997).

On the other hand scholars argue that the common goals NGOs strive towards are far from being realised (Fowler, 2000), with little evidence that NGOs have made a profound difference (Hulme, 2008). Others view NGOs as ineffective, or failing to deliver development (Shivji, 2007), with accusations arising of corruption and political scandals (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), and contributors to contradictory political interests and lack of transparency. Additionally, several donor-commissioned NGO studies have reported numerous ways in which NGO performance fell short of expectations on sustainability and impact (Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006). Some scholars argue that NGOs represent diverse, contradictory and political interests, perpetuate colonial dependencies, co-opt and corrupt grassroots organisations thereby undermine people's struggle for economic, social and political liberation (Manji and O'Coill, 2002).

However, it is counter argued that there may be high and unfair expectations placed on NGOs (Zaidi, 2004), after attempts to achieve development through the government and markets seemed to have failed (Muhumuza, 2005). At times government claims that NGOs engage in political activities are attempts to damage NGOs' public reputation (Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006), as predatory or failing governments view NGO presence with suspicion (Lewis, 2003; Lewis, 2005; Jordan and van Tuijl, 2006).

Overall, scholars note that many factors influencing NGO performance lie outside their control (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b). Hence development managers ought to 'develop an awareness of the context in which they are working' and understand 'what is likely to have an effect on what they and their organisations do' (Johnson

and Thomas, 2002, p.2). Theoretically, the concept of development management, as defined by Thomas (1996; 1999), calls on development organisations not only to get the work done by the best means available hence meet set goals by coordinating internal organisational resources, but also go beyond that into intervening in and influencing social change processes in order to achieve external social goals. Similarly, public management requires development managers to organise, motivate others and direct action towards the creation and achievement of public goals (Lynn Jr, 2003; Ferlie, Lynn Jr and Pollitt, 2007). This emphasises that NGOs operate in both an internal and external environment, and thus it is crucial to examine both environments and underlying influences.

Articles on NGOs are widely scattered in numerous publications and often laborious to find (Edwards and Fowler, 2002). Moreover few studies have collated data specifically focused on underlying influences of NGO performance. This article thus attempts to enhance understanding of NGO performance by collating and reflecting on the existing body of literature. We take an approach that offers the much needed space to examine underlying internal and external facilitators and constraints. We further discuss the findings utilising rational choice as the conceptual lens. Rational choice theory argues that people make rational decisions through calculating the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do (Scott, 2000). Additionally, people are regarded as goal-driven and choice-functional (Suzumura, 2009), make best possible decisions from their point of view, and act to achieve maximum 'utility'/benefit. In this article we will examine if the findings do or do not support the view that NGOs actions are rational, and the standpoints from which NGOs make rational decisions. In the next section, the systematic review method is briefly discussed. Then the paper presents key findings, discussion, and concludes.

2. Methodology

The search strategy attempted to systematically identify, retrieve, appraise and synthesise published journal articles, which presented findings on factors influencing NGO performance. The review followed the guidelines for undertaking systematic reviews as documented by Khan *et al.*, (2001) and Petticrew and Roberts (2006). This methodology was chosen as it calls for close adherence to a set of guidelines explicitly aimed at minimising error or bias in comprehensively reviewing available publications (Mouton, 2001; Petticrew and Roberts, 2006).

Searches were done through various electronic platforms and databases, and references of relevant articles hand-searched, to identify published journal articles worldwide between 1996 and 2008. The search period commenced from 1996, as the intensification of research on development NGO performance begun in the mid-1990s. The key search terms used included permutations of *NGO*, *NPO*, *development management*, *performance*, *effectiveness*, *accountability* and *evaluation*. A standardised explicit appraisal system was established to systematically select studies. The search and selection of articles was first undertaken in 2007. To reduce researcher bias from the selection process, the researcher repeated the process in 2009, and comments from anonymous reviewers on the initial search were taken into consideration.

The search found 14,469 citations. Screening resulted in 80 potentially relevant papers, whose full versions were obtained and evaluated in detail. Out of these, an additional 49 were excluded as they did not fully meet the inclusion criteria. Ultimately, 31 articles were selected (see **Table 2.1**), hard copies obtained, and articles carefully reviewed and summarised.

Table 2.1: Selected journal articles²

#	Publication year	Authors
1-4	2008	Benjamin; Gneiting; Höhn; O'Dwyer and Unerman.
5-10	2007	Carman; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega; Dar; Jung and Moon; Nanavati; Srinivasan.
11-15	2006	Barr and Fafchamps; Bornstein; Goddard and Assad; Kalb; Kilby.
16-20	2005	Barr, Fafchamps and Owens; Bebbington; Ebrahim; Fruttero and Gauri; Kegeles, Rebchook, and Tebbetts.
21-22	2004	Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan; Lewis and Madon.
23-26	2003	Bornstein; Ebrahim; Khan; Porter.
27-28	2002	Ebrahim; Mebrahtu.
29	2000	Roche
30	1999	Edwards
31	1997	Wallace

A tabulated framework for quantitative and qualitative data extraction was designed and utilised to capture relevant data. Administrative details were analysed and reported elsewhere; see chapter 3. Data on factors influencing NGO performance

² See references for the full titles.

was thematically analysed, and results on facilitators and constraints presented in the following section.

3. Results

3.1 Facilitating factors

3.1.1 NGOs as preferred institutional substitutes to governments

The failure of governments to generate growth and alleviate poverty led to a desire by development aid agencies and donors to reduce the role of governments (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006; Kalb, 2006). Donors also recognised that market forces are insufficient in addressing development challenges. Donors thus sought after NGOs as they regarded them as influential for they have greater autonomy and worked at grassroots levels (Edwards, 1999; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006), were players in the democratisation process (Höhn, 2008), and can be discarded more easily when necessary. Donors thus applied the strategy of 'institutional substitution' and used NGOs as quick-fix substitutes for the government and private sectors (Kalb, 2006). Similarly, NGOs found favour with governments for the provision of public services (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006; Jung and Moon, 2007).

This resulted in a drastic increase in NGOs' role in international development and aid delivery (Wallace, 1997; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007), which enhanced their institutional legitimacy through reputation and recognition effects. It further led to 'resource inter-dependence' whereby NGOs need donors and governments for money, who in turn needed NGOs for their reputation in development activities (Ebrahim, 2003; Jung and Moon, 2007).

3.1.2 Resource mobilisation

Increased resources were a major facilitating factor. NGOs developed various strategies to access funding. Some founders of national NGOs initially identified community needs and raised funds through their own sources, from friends and well-wishers (Srinivasan, 2007). Further effort raised revenue from members, non-members and fund raising profits (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005), while the establishment of advisory boards, with professional expertise, furthered the cause of NGOs and increased revenue (Srinivasan, 2007).

As NGOs increasingly became the preferred implementing agencies they lobbied for additional funding. Some national NGOs became selective in forming relationships, preferring to work with international NGOs and donors who supported and funded them on a long-term basis (Edwards, 1999). Additionally, NGOs conducted evaluations and attached the reports when submitting grant proposals (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). Once in partnership with donor agencies, NGOs coped with accounting procedures and professionalisation demands (Porter, 2003), developed accountability mechanisms, kept financial records, used monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems to demonstrate their efficiency and effectiveness in implementation and impacts, and publicised their work (Roche, 2000; Ebrahim, 2003; Ebrahim, 2005; Bornstein, 2006; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). NGOs did these to serve as symbolic functions in competing in the crowded NGO sector, and hence enable continued funding and attracted economically powerful donors. Further, some NGOs with government contracts for public service delivery did not commence work before the grant was sanctioned (Nanavati, 2007), hence avoiding depleting their resources. Indirectly, partnership with government was useful in fund raising, as some donors required proof of partnership with government (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005).

NGOs also sought to maintain funding that provided positive reputation, recognition effects, enhanced legitimacy and credibility (Ebrahim, 2005; Goddard and Assad, 2006; Jung and Moon, 2007; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Ultimately, NGOs fulfilled an intermediate role in a chain which generates and transfers not only financial resources, but also knowledge, technology and information (Wallace, 1997; Bebbington, 2005).

3.1.3 External pressure and requirements

As the role of NGOs in international development drastically increased, so did the stake of donors and governments in the outcomes of NGO performance. There was pressure on NGOs to demonstrate results and impact of their work (Roche, 2000; Bebbington, 2005). Donors utilised performance measurement information to facilitate contract monitoring, reporting, and to inform programme practice and public policy (Carman, 2007). 'Success-driven' donors were selective and critical in their funding decisions, became increasingly pre-occupied with effectiveness, demanded verifiable proof of results and evaluated impacts of their donations (Bornstein, 2006;

Gneiting, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). This was driven by the need to inform an increasingly discerning public support base, and backed by public and media pressure (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). In other cases, there was need to satisfy the dictates of bilateral and multilateral donors, who in turn inform parliamentarians and treasuries of granting governments (Wallace, 1997; Porter, 2003; Bebbington, 2005).

NGOs have had to produce and send more quantitative product-data with easily measurable indicators, and less qualitative process-data (Ebrahim, 2002). This was attributed to donors requiring information in a format suited to measuring results and demonstrate success over short budget cycles (Wallace, 1997). NGOs sent scheduled programme and financial progress reports based on clear activities or line-items according to contract agreements, which demonstrated progress toward targets and timely utilisation of funds (Ebrahim, 2002). Meanwhile, donors argued that they impose regulations, monitor, demand reports and visit so as to coordinate and standardise NGO interventions, avoid conflict and duplication, and track and hold NGOs to account to protect public interests (Ebrahim, 2003; Khan, 2003; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Ebrahim, 2005; Jung and Moon, 2007). Many donors conducted mid-term and end of grant evaluations to assess whether and to what extent goals and objectives have been achieved, and to assess cost-effectiveness to determine future funding (Ebrahim, 2003).

Donors further exerted pressure on NGOs to improve performance and accountability (Goddard and Assad, 2006), procedural systems (Bornstein, 2006), institutional restructuring, strategic thinking and self-evaluation (Wallace, 1997). Funding was conditional on NGOs signing contracts that stipulated commitment to adopt performance-driven approaches (Benjamin, 2008), operational management tools, and planning techniques that rationally link inputs to desired results such as Logical Framework Analysis (Wallace, 1997; Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006) and Results-Based Management Framework. Some donors used negotiable terms and recommended in a genteel manner the use of management tools, training programmes, financial accountability and reporting formats, whilst others adopted a coherent and 'no-nonsense' approach with stringent contractual conditions (Bornstein, 2003; Jung and Moon, 2007).

Furthermore, NGOs are legally required to account to their trustees or board. In some countries NGOs are required to provide accounts and reports to renew their registration annually with the NGO Registration Board (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005), and to produce financial statements, reports and file tax returns annually in a bid to maintain their tax exemption status (Ebrahim, 2003; Ebrahim, 2005).

3.1.4 Internal organisational capacity and skills

Generally, NGOs adopted managerial concepts, tools and practices to work in partnership with donors (Dar, 2007) and meet external demands (Wallace, 1997). NGOs adopted emerging practices to 'survive and thrive' (Goddard and Assad, 2006), with emphasis on internal organisational values, strong shared organisational culture, common analysis of social problems and strategies for development (Edwards, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003).

NGOs further developed performance accountability mechanisms, with quantitative and qualitative indicators, to facilitate multiple accountability to a wide range of stakeholders, and to signify long-term achievement of mission and impact on social change (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). NGOs developed accountability to donors (upward accountability), to beneficiaries (downward accountability) and to themselves (internal accountability), and sought to meet their commitments so as to symbolise, maintain and enhance organisational competence, legitimacy and existence justification (Goddard and Assad, 2006; Benjamin, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). NGOs also desired a central and influential position and enhanced competitive advantage, therefore ensured that their work and reports reflected appropriate resource utilisation (Goddard and Assad, 2006; Gneiting, 2008).

NGOs further conducted external evaluations and audits, improved governance, board reconstruction, appointed management consultants, multinational audit firms or government-approved local firms. This was done to sway previously reluctant donors, secure funds and provide management information for decision making (Khan, 2003; Goddard and Assad, 2006), within the context of increased competition for funding among NGOs, and fear of funds revocation or erosion of public confidence (Ebrahim, 2003).

NGOs increasingly invested in critical management functions such as financial management, fund raising, strategic planning, personnel management, donor

development and multiple-donor management (Carman, 2007). They further built personnel capacity to ensure effective management, monitoring, evaluation, reporting and performance measurement (Ebrahim, 2005; Goddard and Assad, 2006). This was done for internal strategic operations, improve standards, practices, decision making and accountability, identify problematic areas (Bornstein, 2003), strengthen institutional learning, satisfy donor demands, and provide legitimacy for their viewpoints (Mebrahtu, 2002).

NGOs undertook accounting as it was symbolic in reflecting organisational competence and appropriate use of resources, assisting them gain legitimacy, reliability, integrity, credibility and provided space for bargaining for change (Goddard and Assad, 2006). NGOs established reporting systems with systematised documentation (ranging from rigid, time-bound mechanisms to fluid and flexible means) with donor reports used as a textual space to create an organisational narrative and image as a strategy to negotiate autonomy, and ensure greater freedom in the way NGOs work (Dar, 2007). Furthermore, NGOs developed organisational values, standards and codes of conduct to forestall potentially restrictive government regulations, redeem their image as a result of public scandals, and to influence national and international policy (Ebrahim, 2003).

NGOs increasingly embraced organisational assessments. This was done in recognition of the need to critically evaluate and enhance their work (Ebrahim, 2005), improve beneficiary reach, develop new intervention approaches, know what difference they make (Roche, 2000; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), and to generate useful insights and learning (Mebrahtu, 2002; Ebrahim, 2005).

Many NGOs have committed personnel with wide knowledge gained through experience. NGOs increasingly endeavoured to retain competent, entrepreneurial professional and non-professional staff, as well as full and part-time volunteers (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Bornstein, 2006; Kalb, 2006; Höhn, 2008). These personnel were able to fund-raise, design programmes that fitted with donor requirements, and at times set targets below expectations so as to appear efficient (since targets have become the yardstick for success or failure), and put considerable time into monitoring, evaluation and reporting (Ebrahim, 2002; Bornstein, 2006). Some NGO managers were able to work effectively and learn within existing constraints, and find ways around intrusive requirements such as

meeting with donors to discuss, negotiate and settle upon a common reporting format to reduce the time and effort spent on reporting, re-negotiated terms or outright refused funds from certain donors (Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006). This was done in a bid to keep to their long-term goal and avoid anything that might prejudice impact or sustainability (Edwards, 1999). Further, NGOs utilised professionals from various sources such as management consultants, technical assistance providers, donor commissioned management and development consultants, and board members. Some boards incorporated university staff interested in M&E (Carman, 2007). Expertise of other board members ensured that financial and programme policies and procedures, budgets, audits and internal accountability mechanisms were in place (Khan, 2003; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005).

3.1.5 Organisational learning

There is an emerging realisation that organisational effectiveness is positively correlated with learning from experience, and a growing desire to learn through assessing what works, what does not, what difference is made, whether or not targeted beneficiaries are reached or if strategies need to be changed (Roche, 2000; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). Hence, NGOs attempted to articulate objectives and expected results, conducted research and evaluations to support implementation, generate useful insights and learn (Lewis and Madon, 2004; Ebrahim, 2005), and developed social auditing processes to obtain views from stakeholders including the local community (Ebrahim, 2003).

In a desire to enhance organisational learning, NGOs ensured that impact assessment processes were simple, relevant and useful (Roche, 2000). They developed more people-friendly and qualitatively oriented M&E systems, linked planning with evaluation (Mebrahtu, 2002) and sought to improve documentation to enhance learning (Dar, 2007). NGOs utilised strategic planning processes to reaffirm or rediscover their mandate, root themselves within the wider context, and to identify their particular strengths and niche in light of competition for funding (Wallace, 1997).

Some NGOs deepened learning within and across organisations, through dedicating time to reflection, and offered courses on organisational development (Bornstein, 2006). Other NGOs attempted to learn and adapt to changes in the unstable and complex external environments (Gneiting, 2008), and engaged in analysis of failure

(Ebrahim, 2005), by maintaining a balance between beneficiary development and organisational development (Edwards, 1999).

3.1.6 Beneficiary participation

As the notions of participation, empowerment of beneficiaries and valuing local knowledge began to gain acceptance, NGOs recognised that it was important to gauge the relevance of their interventions, stay in touch, gain legitimacy, and remain relevant to beneficiaries as a just way to act with integrity (Kilby, 2006). There was thus increasing awareness of the value of effective beneficiary involvement (Khan, 2003; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006; Kilby, 2006; Benjamin, 2008). NGOs endeavoured to encourage beneficiary involvement in needs assessment, implementation/service delivery and evaluation. This was done by seeking beneficiary views and opinions, agreeing on responsibilities, and addressing any potential conflict of interests through surveys, direct observation, participatory development workshops, solidarity forums, and discussions with opinion leaders. However, other NGOs are accused of imposing interventions on their beneficiaries based on the expertise at the NGO's disposal or based on donor requirements.

NGOs increasingly recognised the importance of downward accountability to beneficiaries and communities (Mebratu, 2002; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006), so held informal, irregular meetings or more formal, scheduled meetings (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Kilby, 2006). Generally, NGOs utilised informal rather than hierarchical accountability mechanisms. Through this, NGOs aimed to sustain the benefits of their work by strengthening the capacity of local people and institutions (Edwards, 1999).

3.1.7 Partnership and networking

NGOs recognised that partnership building was a tool for development, through which they could share critical resources, pool experiences, transfer and create new knowledge, synergistic solutions, and be a conduit for influencing wider structures (Edwards, 1999). In their attempt to advocate and collectively negotiate for space for improved development, NGOs have formed partnerships, networks, alliances and coalitions with other agencies including local groups, public and private sector organisations, academics, researchers and donors (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005; Bornstein, 2006). For instance, some NGOs are assisted by partners to write donor reports (Bornstein, 2006), or draw on

experience from their 'mother' NGO (Lewis and Madon, 2004). Technical assistance providers, university researchers and evaluation experts provide help with evaluations (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). As reported earlier, partnership with government departments/ministries facilitated NGO work, and screening processes for funding as some donors required proof of support from government authorities (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005).

3.1.8 Strategic location

Contrary to the popular notion that NGOs strategically locate their operations in the neediest communities, evidence from the literature does not concur. However, it seemed that many NGOs indeed locate in relatively needy communities, and maintained a permanent presence in communities they work in (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). NGOs also targeted areas with a large pool of potential beneficiaries and reached communities in new areas, due to the need to distinguish their development work from that of others (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005).

3.1.9 Influencing the environment

NGOs endeavoured to influence in ways that facilitated their work and performance. For instance, some NGOs encouraged strategic voting for government officials who were sympathetic to their cause and directed more resources to NGOs and their beneficiaries (Edwards, 1999). Other NGOs challenged donors to change their policies to permit more equitable donor-recipient relationships, such as evaluation of donors, more appropriate M&E procedures, and creative ways of data gathering other than report writing (Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006). Furthermore, NGOs submitted reports to donors to state what is important, challenge and change expectations, ensure donors understand their practices (Benjamin, 2008), bargain for change, and to create less burdensome reporting (Goddard and Assad, 2006).

NGOs also influenced, though to a lesser extent, their external environment. There was appreciation of the need to be aware of the local context, and endeavour to create supportive economic, political and social environments (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004). Further, NGOs were growingly aware of the need to understand and link action at the local level with the global context (Edwards, 1999; Lewis and Madon, 2004).

3.2 Constraining factors

3.2.1 Resource dependency constraints

Resource dependency exposed NGOs to a patronage context that was highly structured with power imbalances, shaped accountability and rules (Bebbington, 2005; Ebrahim, 2005). Interests, plans, political and economic priorities of donors and governments often superseded the missions, goals, values and beliefs of NGOs. Further, the desires and agendas of developed countries were upheld while ignoring learning and inputs from developing countries (Wallace, 1997; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). Hence, NGOs experienced reduced managerial and organisational autonomy in choices, goal setting, resource allocation and financial management (Bebbington, 2005; Jung and Moon, 2007). This caused a conflict within NGOs between donor-based priorities and the development desires of communities.

The aid system assumes that the project model, blueprint, pre-determined set of cause-and-effect relationships turns resources, knowledge and technology into desired sustainable development. Dependence on official aid exposed NGOs to underlying models of planning with bureaucratic processes, specific administrative, functional, procurement and accounting requirements, complex appraisals, and piece-meal reporting (Ebrahim, 2005; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007; Jung and Moon, 2007). NGOs were further pressured to adopt hierarchical accountability mechanisms and practices that at times threatened mission attainment (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Moreover, NGOs became vulnerable to changing donor fashions, intrusion and scrutiny (Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006). Donor dependence also narrowed accountability upwards, and hence NGOs risk being co-opted or eclipsed by donor priorities and agendas (Edwards, 1999; Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). These findings are based on the theoretical grounding of the Resource Dependency Perspective (Pfeffer, 1997; Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). In part, it states that some organisations have 'more power than others because of the particularities of their interdependence and their location in social space' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p.xiii). Donors and governments have therefore acquired power over NGOs as they are substantial providers of resources to NGOs.

3.2.2 Inappropriate external pressure and interference

Studies have shown that some donor approaches are incompatible with participatory, experiential, people-centred development. The quantitative performance

measurement tools, increasingly embraced by donors, conflict with the beneficiary-oriented work since the quantifiable criteria fail to account for the complex dynamics in the development process (Ebrahim, 2002; Gneiting, 2008). It framed NGOs' work in simplified terms focused on a narrow range of performance measures (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Simple models of cause-and-effect promoted performance valuations with 'egocentric' results (Roche, 2000: p.548), omitted influences and change processes in the wider environment, promoted specific hierarchical accountability mechanisms and practices, and were too short-term for empowerment strategies (Gneiting, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). This pressured NGOs to sacrifice long-term impact strategies for short-term presentable outcomes, and embraced the use of business terminologies with a business-oriented approach (Gneiting, 2008; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Donors further pressured NGOs to professionalise and adopt rational planning, management, analysis and evaluation tools. These introduced bureaucratic systems that were often inappropriate, rigid, and hierarchical, caused increased reporting requirements, fear and anxiety, staff resentment due to top-down impositions, and created incentives for deception (Wallace, 1997; Ebrahim, 2002; Bornstein, 2003; Bornstein, 2006; Gneiting, 2008). Donor interference further contributed to organisational disturbance (Khan, 2003). As a rational defence reflex, some NGOs protected themselves through incomplete disclosure in reporting and evaluations, and professionalised to avoid misunderstanding and adverse funding effects (Ebrahim, 2002; Dar, 2007).

Many donor approaches, based on pre-determined outputs and time-bound project cycles, required use of reporting formats with strict outlines (Bornstein, 2006). These were mechanical, demotivating and hampered innovative thinking (Ebrahim, 2002; Dar, 2007). Donor evaluations focused on discrete projects and were used as a control and justification mechanism rather than as tools for learning (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007).

Furthermore, performance measurement presumes an environment of certainty and control in which certain changes can be attributed to effects of NGO activities (Gneiting, 2008). These approaches were inappropriate as they attempted to prove cause-effect relationships, which were at best uncertain, and the determination of future objective knowledge was not valid given many influential external factors. NGOs implement interventions for which it was difficult to conduct outcome evaluations (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005). Nonetheless, there was

reluctance to admit that effectiveness was unpredictable and difficult to assess, because support for development aid depended on the public's belief in its effectiveness (Roche, 2000).

3.2.3 Inadequate organisational capacity and skills

NGOs concentrated on activities, rather than developing internal controls, mainly due to the dominant culture of daily action over reflection, and donor imposition of excessive conditionalities and onerous reporting (Ebrahim, 2005). Further, donors funded projects with little or no resources allocated to organisational development. NGOs focused on upward and external accountability, while downward and internal accountability mechanisms were comparatively neglected (Ebrahim, 2003; Khan, 2003). For instance, piecemeal multiple-donor accounting and reporting proved detrimental to improving internal accounting and institutional capacity development (Goddard and Assad, 2006). Many NGOs had informal administrative processes and limited managerial practices, confined mainly to accounting and finance due to statutory requirements (Srinivasan, 2007).

NGOs further faced inadequate organisational capacity in human, technical and material resources. Many national NGOs were created, managed by and continued to employ people with little formal exposure and training in NGO ideas and concepts (Lewis and Madon, 2004; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), while some NGO founders tended to make most of the decisions (Srinivasan, 2007). NGOs experienced difficulties employing skilled managerial and professional staff, faced high staff turnover and hence limited retention of institutional knowledge. This was mainly attributed to poor salary structures and limited funding especially for basic operations and overheads, experienced staff advanced to international agencies with better salaries and benefits, whilst young university graduates did not regard NGOs as a career choice (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007; Nanavati, 2007). Critiques argue that some international NGOs exploit this situation by sending their new staff to national NGOs as expatriates, but the underlying motive is to use local NGOs as training grounds for their personnel who come as directors or holders of other high ranking positions, even when they are not adequately qualified.

Added to this complexity was the negative attitude of some NGO staff. They regarded reporting requirements, outcome measurement and organisational

performance assessment as a nuisance, greater pressure for accountability, extra burden, time consuming, costly, unnecessary distraction from real work, confusing, redundant and destructive (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005; Bornstein, 2006; Carman, 2007; Benjamin, 2008). This is in line with Fowler's (1997) view that there is a tendency to regard formal management and organisational assessment as inappropriate and anti-people. Often, M&E was not integrated into management and policy development, inappropriate methods and tools of assessment were used, and data collected were late, unusable or inadequate (Mebrahtu, 2002; Carman, 2007). Scarcity of data and weakness of evaluation methods led to weak links between information gathered and conclusions drawn, while reports focused on outputs achieved rather than outcomes and broader impacts (Ebrahim, 2002). This was mainly caused by high workloads and limited time, exacerbated by different documentation demands by donors who at the same time declined to fund operational expenses. Further, NGOs limited staff, inadequate personnel knowledge and skills minimised the opportunity for field programmes to design locally appropriate systems (Mebrahtu, 2002; Bornstein, 2003; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005; Carman, 2007).

NGOs also have internal power struggles and non-participatory practices (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). For instance, some donor-commissioned NGO directors changed goals and introduced ideas outside of any strategic framework, learning, or clear long-term objectives (Edwards, 1999). In addition, governance and management were not clearly separated, donors and beneficiaries were erratically included in boards, and boards were established merely to meet statutory requirements. This is in line with the argument that invisible and inaudible boards simply act as rubber-stamps (Tandon, 1995).

Some staff were not motivated or committed to NGOs' work (Nanavati, 2007), while professional NGO elite and bureaucrats used NGOs as alternative and lucrative sources of income (Kalb, 2006). This supports sentiments that some NGOs are composed of self-serving developmental elite who serve less desirable ends and intensify social inequality (Narayan, *et al.*, 1999; Benjamin and Misra, 2006).

3.2.4 Inadequate resources

Most NGOs operate in resource scarce contexts that led to donor dependency, making many NGOs implementing agencies for governments and donors, and thus

more responsive to their concerns. Furthermore, in recent years, governments have become a legitimate recipient of international funding and therefore a direct competitor with NGOs (Höhn, 2008), along with other private companies who increasingly undertake development work.

NGO financial insecurity was further exacerbated as donors imposed new systems of financial management such as match-funding, retrospective or invoice-funding (Goddard and Assad, 2006). NGOs receiving grants through local governments struggle to get disbursements and, as a result, a few paid bribes to effect release of funds (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005). NGOs operated by individuals focused on personal gain, allocated a large portion of the funding towards salaries, fringe benefits and other operational costs, with minimal allocation to programme work. In response, many donors shifted towards project-specific funding, insisted on unrealistically low overheads, and were reluctant or refused to fund non-project costs. As donors no longer provide organisation-wide funding, this resulted in NGOs being under administered and managed (Bornstein, 2003; Höhn, 2008). Additionally, when donor funding priorities change, NGOs working outside new priority areas lose out on funding.

Funding decline was also attributed to inadequate proposals and report writing, budget planning and performance monitoring, as many NGO staff have inadequate management and reporting skills (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007; Höhn, 2008). Ironically, donor management, reporting requirements and evaluations over-stretched NGO scarce resources (Ebrahim, 2002; Ebrahim, 2003).

3.2.5 Inadequate learning, innovation and organisational development

The NGO culture of service delivery over analysis to gain legitimacy through doing resulted in little time being prioritised to conduct surveys of community needs, plan activities, assess performance, follow up beneficiaries after service delivery, solve problems, develop more appropriate accountability mechanisms, document evidence, conduct evaluations, and to reflect on their actions and practices (Dar, 2007; Nanavati, 2007; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). This finding corresponds to the argument that the dominant culture of emphasised action subordinates reflection, analysis and learning (Fowler, 1997), while few NGO managers have tools to think about the implications of their work (Robinson, 1999).

Additionally, there was limited knowledge of happenings at grassroots levels due to weaknesses in information management (Lewis and Madon, 2004). It was also reported that some staff preferred to document evidence, not through text-writing, but through performance of drama and songs (Dar, 2007). Unfortunately, this innovative approach was not always appreciated.

The inclination of many donors towards project-based funding contributed to NGOs' inadequate resources for core costs and organisational development, leading to limited investment in M&E. This resulted, for instance, in simple collection of input and output information while failing to gather more useful evaluation and performance measurement data (Carman, 2007). There was also superficial or non-existent pre-project appraisals, struggles to clearly link vision and mission with their daily activities, and objectives and indicators were not closely matched to the desired developmental goals (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005).

Further, some NGOs were sceptical about the purpose of evaluations, fearing that unfavourable results may negatively reflect on the staff and the organisation (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), as donors rewarded success but punished failure by revocation of funds and imposition of additional conditionalities (Ebrahim, 2005). This resulted in these NGOs avoiding evaluations where possible. Consequently, there was inadequate innovation and failure to learn from both success and failure (Ebrahim, 2005).

3.2.6 Inadequate beneficiary participation

Kelly *et al.* (2004) argue that beneficiary participation is crucial because beneficiaries know what impact they want, what is helpful and what is not. There are considerable barriers to dialogue with beneficiaries before implementation of interventions and development of accountability mechanisms. This was due to several reasons: NGOs perceived that achievement results from assisting beneficiaries but downward accountability was not a priority; NGOs missed opportunities or have few incentives to be accountable to their beneficiaries; policy making and agenda-setting remained the exclusive domain of top management; NGOs perceived it practically difficult to provide accountability to beneficiaries while upward external accountability was considered less problematic, more achievable and realisable; and beneficiaries do not engage in and do not explicitly demand accountability (Khan, 2003; Lewis and

Madon, 2004; Kilby, 2006; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008). Thus there was inadequate seeking and consideration of beneficiaries' perspectives and participation in the design, expected outcomes and evaluations (Bornstein, 2003; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004). Furthermore, the donor-driven, market-based performance measurement tools placed inadequate emphasis on a beneficiary-centred process-oriented approach (Gneiting, 2008). Hence NGOs' work remained somewhat disconnected to beneficiaries' struggles and priorities (Lewis and Madon, 2004).

3.2.7 Inadequate partnership and networking

Partnership has been a recognised principle in development literature for a long time. There was evidence that NGOs fostered partnerships particularly with donors (as discussed in section 3.1). Evidence however showed that there was minimal partnership among NGOs. This was mainly attributed to competition for donor funding as stringent donor requirements foster tensions and rivalry among NGOs rather than synergy and collaboration (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). At times partnerships proved to be inappropriate, due to some dominant international partners eroding confidence in local knowledge, imposing external ideas thereby hampering NGOs' alternative long-term development goals (Porter, 2003).

3.2.8 Inappropriate strategic location

Although NGOs are regarded as being 'closer to the people', evidence showed that there was considerable geographical clustering and operation in the same location. This resulted in extensive duplication of effort, neglect of the most isolated, remote and needy communities, and therefore programmes were not always related to indicators of community needs (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). This observation was in line with recent research findings that NGOs fail to utilise objective-beneficiary-need-based grounds for strategic location of NGO offices and more so sites of service provision (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a).

3.2.9 Inadequate influencing of the external environment

As noted earlier, NGOs operate in a distinctly complex historical, political and economic environment, with diverse interests, power structures, social and cultural processes. NGOs also operate in a 'cut-throat' environment where they constantly compete for donor funding, beneficiaries, and government endorsement. However, NGOs are not able to control many external factors that influence intervention outcomes.

The complex environment becomes more adverse in the absence of functional government and private sectors, while substituting NGOs for private and public institutions weakens the NGO sector and perpetuates institutional failures (Kalb, 2006). As a result of some multilateral and bilateral corporations bypassing governments, the latter attempted to control NGOs and their resources (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007). In all this, NGOs have failed to intensively consider and address forces that undermine their work, and more often than not, the complex external environment was ignored when evaluating NGO performance (Edwards, 1999; Roche, 2000).

4. Discussion

The purpose of this review is to collate and discuss factors influencing NGO performance. Findings provide a comprehensive picture of the numerous influences on NGOs. Key facilitators are: NGOs as preferred institutional substitutes to governments; resource mobilisation; external pressure and requirements; internal organisational capacity; organisational learning; beneficiary participation; partnership and networking; strategic location; and, influencing the environment. Major constraints are: resource dependency constraints; inappropriate external pressure and interference; inadequate organisational capacity; inadequate resources; inadequate learning, innovation and organisational development; inadequate beneficiary participation; inadequate partnership and networking, inappropriate strategic location; and, inadequate influencing of the external environment. Evidence thus confirms that NGOs are influenced by numerous internal and external factors. Strikingly some, such as resource mobilisation, mirror a double-sided coin as they emerged as both facilitators and constraints. Additionally, NGOs have not only positioned themselves to enhance their performance, but have also been pressured to do so particularly by donors.

Evidence further suggests that there are key practices that need to be incorporated into NGO performance management. The Project Cycle Management (PCM) is a standard framework utilised in performance management, as it is a rational way of conceptualising and then managing projects (Cracknell, 2000). Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation,

monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Given findings from this review, there was need to modify the PCM and incorporate four key processes namely; strategic location, beneficiary participation, influencing the external environment, and organisational learning. This formed the Development NGO Management Cycle; see chapter 5.

Deeper analysis of the findings on factors influencing NGO performance, further sheds light on the rationality of how NGOs behave taking three main positions to:

- 1) Build and sustain organisational competence and reputation.
- 2) Achieve developmental goals as desired by their targeted beneficiaries.
- 3) Comply with contractual agreements with their donors.

In acting rationally to build and sustain their competence and reputation, NGOs have endeavoured to undertake various measures, such as improved service to beneficiaries; improved organisational capacity through seeking competent and entrepreneurial staff; and, adopted strategic thinking and processes to reaffirm or rediscover their mandate and special niche. These have also been done in a self-interest manner to secure additional funding and resist external pressure and interference. To achieve developmental goals as desired by their targeted beneficiaries and communities NGOs have, for instance, undertaken beneficiary need assessment; located strategically to reach beneficiaries (though these are not always the neediest in the communities); embraced some level of beneficiary participation; formed strategic partnerships; and, desired to be learning organisations to extend impact of their development work. Resource mobilisation has also significantly enabled NGOs to improve their operational management, expand and scale up development work. To comply with contractual agreements with donors, NGOs have, for instance, coped with accounting, professionalisation, management, monitoring, evaluation and reporting demands.

However, not all action by NGOs is fundamentally rational. For instance, evidence illustrates that resource dependency exposes NGOs to several underlying constraints. These include a patronage context with reduced managerial and organisational autonomy; bureaucratic management processes; emphasis on more quantitative, easily measurable performance indicators and targets; donor-drivenness rather than upholding beneficiary/community-needs; overshadowed

beneficiaries/communities development desires as some NGO and donor approaches are incompatible with people-centred development; skewed accountability upward at the opportunity cost of internal and downward accountability; and, threatened NGO mission attainment. Additionally, there is increasing pressure on NGOs to apply business tools to provide structures that enable improvement in organisational management, effectiveness and accountability (Walsh and Lenihan, 2006). Wallace (2000) cautions that the uncritical importation of business management techniques is a key danger to NGOs.

Clearly, there is an intricate web of factors influencing NGOs. Indeed, there seems to be higher expectations placed on NGOs given that, in many cases, they are institutional substitutes for governments in implementing development programmes, and there is a resource inter-dependence between NGOs and donors. Nonetheless, some NGO choices seem irrational as they do not fit in with the rational choice view that highlights the immense cost of loss of autonomy and legitimacy when an organisation is driven by another's agenda. This concurs with Fowler's (1996) argument that mechanism of the aid system and the process of socio-economic change are incompatible. Acceptance of resource dependency constraints and complying with contractual agreements with donors can, nevertheless, be viewed as rational in an endeavour to secure adequate resources for development work. Some scholars state that resource dependency and loss of autonomy is not the real concern; rather it is the way funds are negotiated and the associated terms and conditions (Biggs and Neame, 1995; Mueller, *et al.*, 2005). Hence, organisations need to reduce vulnerability by 'managing the interdependencies themselves' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p.106).

With NGOs, funding dependency is a phenomenon that is here and likely to stay. Even so, NGOs should not be pressured to blindly utilise tools and processes originating from the private or public sectors. Rather NGOs need to build their capacity to be able to constantly assess their needs, examine proposals put before them, make rational decisions and adapt aspects deemed suitable to enhance their developmental work. Additionally, NGOs must maintain a balance between building good relations with their donors, and rationally working towards minimising the adverse effects of resource dependency, by adapting strategies such as multiple-donor funding, and enhancing the practice of reflection, learning, innovation and dissemination of reports that communicate good practices learnt from their work

experiences. This could contribute to increasing the bargaining power of NGOs during negotiations with their donors.

Another illustration of irrational action is the confirmed evidence that although NGO performance is influenced by numerous internal and external factors NGOs fail, in most cases, to scan, analyse and influence their external environment despite repeated calls. Bebbington (2005) argues that it is important to understand the environment as this will shift the analytical burden from one of blaming to one of explaining. However, minimal attention has been paid to the complex, difficult, rapidly changing environment within which NGOs operate (Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006). Hulme (2008) further states that NGOs fail to examine key players in the underlying processes. Although this information has been known for some time, in practice, NGOs seem to be slow to take adequate cognisance and make a significant shift (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008). Findings from this review suggest these failures are mainly attributed to the NGO dominant culture of daily action; the nature of funding focused on implementation; inadequate investment in learning and innovation; and, failure to effectively involve beneficiaries. There is thus need for NGOs, and their stakeholders, to be aware and understand how each factor influences their performance. It is important not only to focus on NGO organisational attributes and internal organisational development, but also to scan and analyse the external environment in which they operate (Johnson and Thomas, 2002). This is in line with the argument by Hulme and Goodhand (2000) that excessive organisational introspection can weaken long-term mission and undermine the quality and reliability of NGO performance.

Strengths and limitations

A key strength of this study is that it has considerably synthesised information on factors influencing NGO performance from available journal articles between 1996 and 2008. This is a notable contribution to the field of NGO management and research. It also makes a unique contribution to reviews in the social sciences, as relatively few studies utilise the systematic methodology compared with reviews in the biological field. To the best of our knowledge, it is thus the first attempt to synthesize existing research knowledge on the performance of development NGOs utilising the methodology of systematic literature review.

However, this study has limitations that should be taken into consideration. The search criteria were restricted to journal articles in English that focused on the performance of development NGOs. The criteria thus excluded journal articles in other languages, other published materials and grey literature, and articles on NGO programme evaluations, NGO leadership and on NGOs in humanitarian and aid relief. These may have contained relevant data. Another area of potential difficulty was inclusion of all types of NGOs, as the NGO sector is heterogeneous operating from grassroots to international level. Using data from a wide variety of NGOs in diverse development fields eliminates the ability to control for variations in organisational settings. It also prevents generalisation of findings across all or any specific group of NGOs. Future studies may be done that make attempts to cluster NGOs to a closer homogenous group. Despite these methodological constraints, bias was reduced by conducting a systematic review of electronically available literature through adhering closely to a set of scientific methods explicitly aimed to limit error. These are discussed in the methodology section. Additionally, the review results are robust as large volumes of data were obtained, and results can be taken to indicate trends and key areas of future research.

5. Conclusions

Given that NGOs have positioned themselves as cutting-edge development organisations engaged in long-term multidimensional development at local and international level, which is likely to continue well into the future, this article argues that it is important to thoroughly understand factors influencing NGO performance. Analysis of the findings reveals that NGOs seem to make rational choices from three different points of view: first, to build and sustain organisational competence and reputation; second, to achieve developmental goals for their targeted beneficiaries; and third, to comply with contractual agreements with their donors. Depending on the position taken, evidence of both rational and irrational action emerges. Overall, evidence suggests that goal-driven NGOs may have commenced development interventions and made rational choices to maximise development utility for their targeted beneficiaries and survive as an organisation. However, underlying constraints and adverse unintended consequences render once rational choices seem irrational in the long term. Hence, NGOs do not necessarily conform to consistent rational behaviour.

Thus we posit that the continued relevance of NGOs, along with their improved performance, depends largely on their ability to clearly understand influencing factors and strategically manage each and every one. It is critical for NGOs to examine key players in the underlying processes, and rationally strategise on how to reshape these players. Additionally, there is need for NGOs to periodically examine if once rational decisions still hold.

It is evident that NGOs' activities are largely influenced by donors through the funding they provide. This is well put by the African proverb 'If you have your hand in another man's pocket, you must move when he moves', and the wise-saying 'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. Given the dominant role of donors, we posit that NGOs cannot always make rational decisions to enhance their performance in achieving development goals if these go against their donors' expectations. It is thus imperative that development performance policy be directed not just towards NGOs, but also towards institutional donors, governments and policy-makers. For instance, donors should support NGOs to make concerted effort to understand and intensively influence their external environment for the successful implementation of development interventions. Donors further need to support NGOs in shifting focus from donor-drivenness towards beneficiary-centred approaches. Failure to do so will perpetuate the existing situation whereby NGOs are required to reform, but fail to change, unless practices conform to the paradigms and expectations of their funding agencies.

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Chapter 3. Characteristics of development NGO performance research 1996-2008: A systematic review

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to study the characteristics of NGO performance research was hers. This was not part of the initial protocol, but arose from the wealth of quantitative data extracted in the above-mentioned systematic literature review. Roselyn analysed the data in SPSS and wrote the paper. A/Prof Lund provided the supervision, ensured findings were clearly stated, and paper written in the format required by the journal.

Current status

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Abstract

Motivation: Globally, literature on the performance of development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) has increased. However, little is known regarding characteristics of the existing body of academic articles on factors influencing NGO performance.

Method: In a recent systematic review of academic research between 1996 and 2008 factors influencing NGO performance were investigated. From the 31 journal articles that met the inclusion criteria, this study extracted and examined the salient characteristics of NGO performance research in terms of: the number of publications; publication outlets; author affiliation; and study location, period, and methods.

Results: Findings showed a steady, though insignificant, increase in the number of articles. Articles were published in a wide array of journals. Data were mainly sought from NGO directors, programme staff and donors. Comparatively few studies collected data from beneficiaries. Studies were mainly conducted in developing countries, whilst most authors were affiliated to institutions in developed countries. Of the 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa only 3 were affiliated to an institution in Africa.

Conclusion: This study confirmed the continued need for increased research on factors influencing NGO performance. Increased beneficiary participation is required even in research, given the rhetoric of participatory development. Striking evidence further revealed the need to address the low number of published researchers in Africa, and to advocate for policy makers to intensively identify and nurture African based researchers in this field.

Key words: Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); NGO performance; academic research; research collaboration; systematic literature review

Introduction

Since the 1990s, the role of development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in international development has increased, along with massive interest and concern over NGO performance from NGO practitioners, governments, citizens, donors, policy makers and academics (Edwards and Hulme, 1995a; Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). While NGOs are not new, the growth of research on NGOs is relatively new (Lewis, 2006), with development NGOs making significant efforts to demonstrate their performance particularly due to stricter official aid requirements, and rising NGO desire to know what is being achieved for accountability, improvement and self-motivation (Fowler, 1996; Paton, 2003).

Scholars have called for more research on NGOs, cautioning that the trends in NGO performance are based on ideological grounds in the absence of empirical verification (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b); that inadequate research on NGO performance would cause this area of study to remain immature, with accurate and comprehensive data hard to come by thus adversely influencing funding decisions (Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Fowler, 1997; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Intensification of research on development NGO performance can be attributed to Edwards and Hulme (1995b) who, in the mid-1990s, collected ground breaking studies on NGO performance.

In a recent systematic review of journal articles published from 1996-2008, factors influencing development NGO performance were investigated; see chapter 2. However little is known regarding characteristics of the existing body of NGO performance literature. This study contributes to closing the gap by examining administrative data extracted from the articles that met the inclusion criteria. Special attention was paid to the number of publications, publication outlets, author affiliation, and study location, period, topics, and methods. Findings confirm the continued need for increased research in NGO performance, and inform future research and policy directions.

Methodology

Search strategy

The search strategy aimed to identify, appraise and summarise published papers that present empirical research findings on factors influencing development NGO

performance. The review followed the Cochrane Collaboration guidelines for undertaking extensive systematic literature reviews (Khan, *et al.*, 2001). It was conducted in various phases and involved a thorough search to identify relevant published studies, retrieve them and document the search process. Effort was made to ensure the process was comprehensive, precise, thorough and unbiased by adhering closely to a set of scientific methods explicitly aimed to limit systematic error or bias in reviewing the available publications (Khan, *et al.*, 2001; Mouton, 2001; Petticrew and Roberts, 2006).

The search strategy was highly interactive and a great deal of time was spent becoming familiar with and searching the literature. Periodic consultation was made with experienced information professional librarians at the University of Cape Town (UCT) on searching literature. The initial attempts did not produce the final strategy. The design progressed as knowledge was gained of the platforms, databases, key words, indexing and how text is structured.

Search methods

Between January 2007 and September 2009, searches were conducted through various database platforms including BiblioLine, CSA Illumina, EBSCO Host: Research Databases, Elsevier: Science Direct, Emerald, JSTOR: The Scholarly Journal Archive, ISI Web of Knowledge and ProQuest: Information and Learning. Thereafter, identifications were made through searching electronic databases including Academic Search Premier, Blackwell Synergy, Business Source Premier, Humanities International Complete, Igenta, PAIS, Science Direct, and Web of Science. The key search terms used included permutations of *NGO*, *NPO*, *development management*, *performance*, *effectiveness*, *accountability*, and *evaluation*.

Search of the internet was made through Google Scholar. Further searches were done of those journals from which articles were accessed. Once relevant publications were sourced, their reference lists (and references of references) were examined, and followed up, for further relevant articles. Contact was made with experts in the field who suggested additional sources.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria were defined as:

- Articles published between 1996 and 2008 in scholarly peer-reviewed journals;
- Written in English on development NGOs engaged in long-term development work anywhere in the world;
- Different categories of development NGOs (also referred to as Not-for Profit/ Nonprofit Organisations/ Civil Society Organisations/ Faith Based Organisations) operating at different levels such as International NGOs, Regional NGOs, National NGOs, Community Based Organisations, and Grassroots Organisations; and,
- Focused on the performance of development NGOs with empirical evidence or analysis including underlying facilitators and constraints.

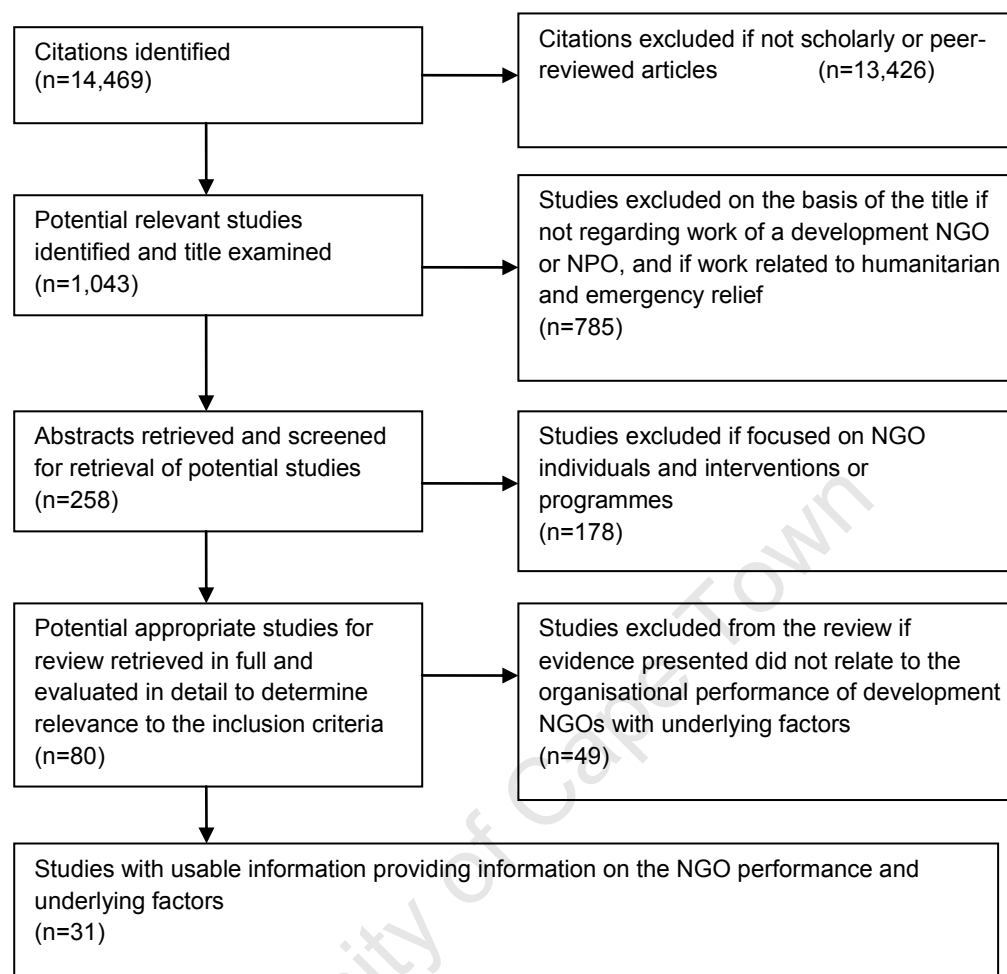
The exclusion criteria were defined as:

- Journal editorials and book reviews, books, reports, newspaper articles and other types of 'grey' literature;
- Papers on other types of organisations including public or private sector (corporate) organisations; and,
- Papers on NGOs engaged in humanitarian and emergency relief, and organisations that represent and advance the views of business interests and educational institutions, on NGO individuals or interventions, and on NGO theories, conceptual frameworks and models.

Appraisal system

In the search and selection process, a standardised explicit appraisal system was established to systematically accept articles so as to minimise the risk of error of judgment; see **Figure 3.1**.

Figure 3.1: Detailed quorum flowchart illustrating the inclusion and exclusion of studies from the systematic literature review



To reduce researcher bias, comments from anonymous reviewers were taken into consideration. The search found 14,469 citations. To start with, determination was made whether the citations were journal articles published between 1996 and 2008. At this point 13,426 records were rejected (92.79% of the total citations) as they were books, book chapters, organisational reports, Masters and Doctoral thesis/dissertations, conference papers, and research, occasional or working papers. Articles were further excluded if they were not scholarly or peer-reviewed articles or if they were editorials or introductory essays. Thereafter 1,043 titles were examined to ensure the studies related to development NGOs. A further 785 papers were excluded as they focused on public or private sector organisations engaged with NGOs in development work, or were related to NGOs in humanitarian and emergency relief rather than long-term development. These screenings left 258

potentially relevant articles, whose abstracts were retrieved and examined. An additional 178 studies were excluded as they focused on assessing NGO interventions and programmes or leadership. Then 80 relevant papers were selected, full versions obtained and evaluated in detail. Of these an additional 49 were excluded as they did not fully meet the inclusion criteria. Two sampled non-profit university and college foundations; 11 analysed the difficulties of assessing NGO performance, compared NGO work to other development players, and reported on the partnership and practices of donors working with NGOs; 14 reported on NGO theories, conceptual frameworks, models, NGO adaption of business management and evaluation tools; and, 22 examined the rise of NGOs over the years and their effects.

In summary, of the 1043 potential studies, a total of 1,012 (97.03%) articles were excluded as they did not report on factors influencing development NGO performance. It should be noted that the diversity of NGO typology is a complex, contested and controversial matter and not engaged with in this article. Hereafter, we use the term NGO as shorthand for development NGOs. The search resulted in the selection of only 31 articles which fully met the inclusion criteria.

Data extraction and synthesis

Hard copies of the 31 articles were obtained, studies carefully reviewed, summarised and systematically synthesised. A tabulated framework for quantitative and qualitative data extraction was designed to accurately extract (where available) relevant information and results. Administrative details were extracted including author, year and journal of publication, location of author affiliated institution, location of study, and period of data collection. As several articles did not explicitly provide information on the period of data collection, effort was made to contact the corresponding authors and information requested.

A grid was then developed in MS-Excel which was populated with the administrative data extracted from the studies. This grid was exported to SPSS, a statistical software package for data analysis, where variables were defined, coded and screened for as detailed and complete information as possible. Data were then cleaned by checking each variable for consistent and accurate data capture. Frequency analysis was mainly utilised to generate descriptive statistics (Pallant, 2007; Weathersby and Freyberg, 2008).

Results

A total of 31 articles were included in this review. The extracted administrative details from these studies are summarised in **Table 3.1**.

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Table 3.1: Description of studies from 1996 to 2008

#	Authors and publication year	Journal source	Author institutional affiliation location	Study location	Data collection period
1	Benjamin (2008)	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	1 USA	USA	February 2002 to August 2003
2	Gneiting (2008)	Journal of Development and Social Transformation	1 USA	USA	Unclear
3	Höhn (2008)	Political Perspectives	1 UK	Namibia	October to December 2006
4	O'Dwyer and Unerman (2008)	Accounting, Organizations and Society	1 Netherlands 1 UK	Ireland	May 2004 to March 2005
5	Carman (2007)	American Journal of Evaluation	1 USA	USA	February to May 2002, and May to July 2003
6	Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega (2007)	Evaluation	1 USA 1 Cameroon	Africa	Not stated
7	Dar (2007)	Journal of Health Management	1 UK	India	October 2003 to April 2004
8	Jung and Moon (2007)	Policy Studies Journal	2 South Korea	Korea	1999 and 2002
9	Nanavati (2007)	Journal of Health Management	1 India	India	1999 to 2001
10	Srinivasan (2007)	Journal of Health Management	1 India	India	January to August 2006
11	Barr and Fafchamps (2006)	Journal of Development Studies	2 UK	Uganda	2002
12	Bornstein (2006)	Development	1 South Africa and UK	South Africa and UK	Not stated
13	Goddard and Assad (2006)	Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal	1 UK 1 Tanzania	Tanzania	Not stated
14	Kalb (2006)	Texas International Law Journal	1 USA	Developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America	Not stated
15	Kilby (2006)	World Development	1 Australia	India	2001 - 2002
16	Barr, Fafchamps and Owens (2005)	World Development	3 UK	Uganda	2002
17	Bebbington (2005)	World Development	1 UK	Netherlands Peru	2000 to 2002
18	Ebrahim (2005)	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	1 USA	Not stated	Not stated
19	Fruttero and Gauri (2005)	Journal of Development Studies	2 USA	Bangladesh	1995-96 and 2000
20	Kegeles, Rebchook, and Tebbetts (2005)	AIDS Education and Prevention	3 USA	USA	Not stated
21	Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan (2004)	Development in Practice	3 Australia	India and Sri Lanka	2000 to 2001
22	Lewis and Madon (2004)	The Information Society	2 UK	Bangladesh	2001
23	Bornstein (2003)	Public Administration and Development	1 South Africa and Canada	South Africa	2001 - 2002
24	Ebrahim (2003)	World Development	1 USA	Not stated	Not stated
25	Khan (2003)	Public Management Review	1 Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Not stated
26	Porter (2003)	Progress in Development Studies	1 UK	Ghana	1999 - 2001
27	Ebrahim (2002)	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	1 USA	India	1995 - 1997
28	Mebratu (2002)	Development in Practice	1 UK	Ethiopia and UK	Unclear
29	Roche (2000)	Development in Practice	1 UK	Ghana, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, El Salvador and UK	1994-1995
30	Edwards (1999)	World Development	1 USA	India Bangladesh	No-data
31	Wallace (1997)	Review of African Political Economy	1 UK	UK	No-data

Journals

The 31 articles were published in 20 different scholarly or peer-reviewed journals, as **Table 3.2** shows. The ratio of articles to journals was 1:1.55.

Table 3.2: Journal analysis by number

Journal	n=31	%
Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal	1	3.23
Accounting, Organizations and Society	1	3.23
AIDS Education and Prevention	1	3.23
American Journal of Evaluation	1	3.23
Development	1	3.23
Development in Practice	3	9.68
Evaluation	1	3.23
Journal of Development and Social Transformation	1	3.23
Journal of Development Studies	2	6.45
Journal of Health Management	3	9.68
Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	3	9.68
Political Perspectives	1	3.23
Progress in Development Studies	1	3.23
Public Administration and Development	1	3.23
Public Management Review	1	3.23
Review of African Political Economy	1	3.23
Texas International Law Journal	1	3.23
The Information Society	1	3.23
The Policy Studies Journal	1	3.23
World Development	5	16.13

The most frequently utilised journal was World Development with 5 articles (Edwards, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003; Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Bebbington, 2005; Kilby, 2006). This is followed by Development in Practice (Roche, 2000; Mebrahtu, 2002; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004), Journal of Health Management (Dar, 2007; Nanavati, 2007; Srinivasan, 2007), and Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly (Ebrahim, 2002; Ebrahim, 2005; Benjamin, 2008) all with 3 articles each. Journal of Development Studies had 2 articles (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). The least frequently utilised journals, with only one article each, were Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal (Goddard and Assad, 2006), Accounting, Organizations and Society (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008), AIDS Education and Prevention (Kegeles, Rebchook and Tebbetts, 2005), American Journal of Evaluation (Carman, 2007), Development (Bornstein, 2006), Evaluation (Chaplowe and Engo-Tjega, 2007), Journal of Development and Social Transformation (Gneiting, 2008), Political Perspectives (Höhn, 2008), Policy Studies

Journal (Jung and Moon, 2007), Progress in Development Studies (Porter, 2003), Public Administration and Development (Bornstein, 2003), Public Management Review (Khan, 2003), Review of African Political Economy (Wallace, 1997), Texas International Law Journal (Kalb, 2006), and The Information Society (Lewis and Madon, 2004).

The 20 journals, in which the 31 articles were published, can be clustered into six categories as **Table 3.3** presents.

Table 3.3: Journal analysis by cluster and publication year

Journal cluster	1996-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008	n = 31	%
Development studies	2	7	9	18	58.06%
Evaluation and Accountability			4	4	12.90%
Health			4	4	12.90%
Information Technology		1		1	3.23%
Law			1	1	3.23%
Political	1		2	3	9.68%

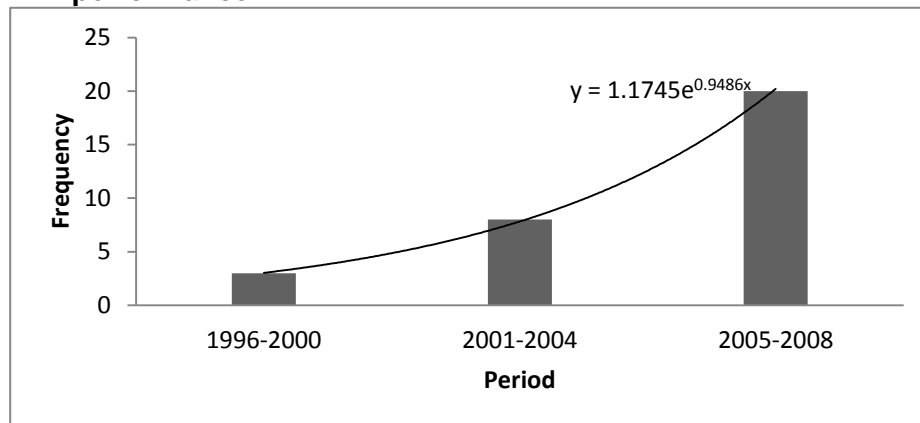
The most preferred were development studies journals with over half of the papers. There was medium preference for evaluation and accountability and health journals. The least preferred were political, information technology and law journals.

The journal cluster analysis by year shows that development studies journals have been utilised consistently over the years, with some growth since 2001. Evaluation and accountability journals have only been utilised since 2005, and the same trend is seen with the health journals.

Year of publication

Over the years, there has been a steady increase in the number of academic articles analysing factors influencing NGO performance; see **Figure 3.2**.

Figure 3.2: Number of articles 1996-2008 on factors influencing NGO performance



The cumulative analysis shows that only 3 articles were published between 1996 and 2000, which increased to a total of 11 articles by 2004 and to 31 articles by 2008. Most studies (20) were published between 2005 and 2008.

Author affiliation

The 31 articles were written by a total of 38 authors. In each article, authors reported their institutional affiliation at the time of publication. These were categorised according to the country of location. Hereafter, this is referred to as author location and the resulting frequency is summarised in column 2 of **Table 3.4**.

Table 3.4: Frequency of locations of authors and studies

Country	Author location (n* = 45)	Study location (n* = 40)
Australia	4	-
Bangladesh	1	5
Cameroon	1	-
Canada	1	-
El Salvador	-	1
Ethiopia	-	1
Ghana	-	2
India	2	8
Ireland	-	1
Kenya	-	1
Namibia	-	1
Netherlands	1	1
Pakistan	-	1
Peru	-	1
South Africa	2	2
South Korea	2	1
Sri Lanka	-	1
Tanzania	1	1
Uganda	-	3
United Kingdom	16	4
United States of America	14	4
Zimbabwe	-	1

* The reported frequency is higher than the number of articles as: some articles have more than one author; or some authors are affiliated to institutions in more than one country; or some studies were conducted in more than one country.

Note: Study locations reported as Africa, developing countries and those not stated have been omitted from this table.

The UK and USA were the most frequently reported author location, with nearly two-thirds of the total frequency. Overall, the data show that there is more than 4 times the chance that an author location is in a developed country, compared to a developing country.

Study location

Details of study location were similarly extracted as reported in each article. As shown in column 3 of **Table 3.4**, the most frequently reported explicit study location was India. Other preferred study locations were Bangladesh, UK, USA and Uganda.

Overall, the majority of the studies were conducted in developing countries. There is thus more than 3 times the chance that a study location is a developing country compared to a developed country. Of the studies conducted in developing countries,

half were conducted in Asia, slightly under half in Africa and the remainder in Latin America.

Author location compared to study location

We then compared our findings of the study location with the author location to identify any relationship. The reported locations for each were categorised either as developed country, developing country or both.

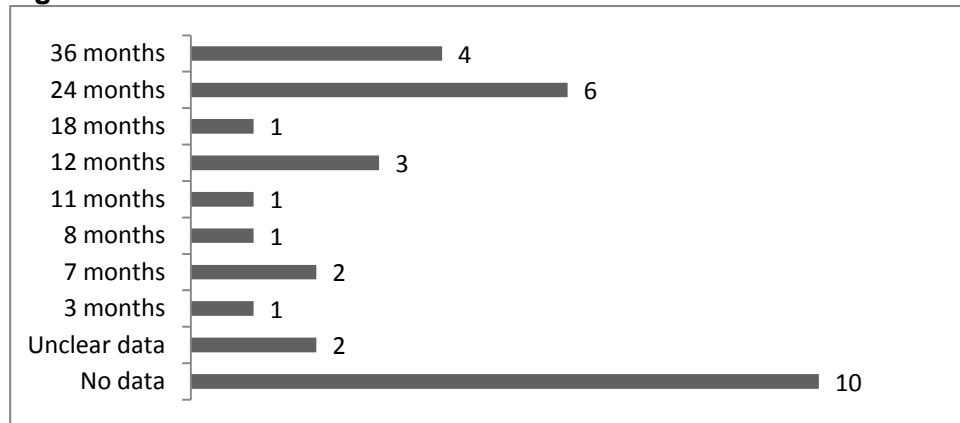
Of the 31 studies, 23 were written by authors in developed countries, 4 in developing countries and 4 in both developed and developing countries. Of the 31 studies, 6 were located in developed countries, 19 in developing countries and 6 in both developed and developing countries.

Of the 19 studies located in developing countries, 12 were written by authors in developed countries, and the remaining 7 by authors in both developed and developing countries. Additionally, of the 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa, less than a quarter, i.e. only 3, were affiliated to an institution in Africa. In contrast, the 6 studies located in developed countries were all authored by researchers in developed countries.

Study period

As mentioned in the methodology section, 18 out of 31 articles did not explicitly provide information on the period of data collection. In 2009, effort was made to contact the study authors for further information. Response was received from 6 authors; hence data for 12 studies were unavailable. As **Figure 3.3** shows, studies with no data and unclear data on the period of data collection constitute more than a third of the total studies.

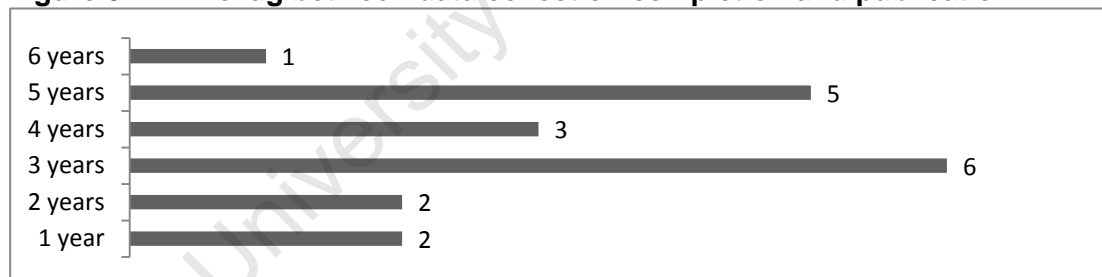
Figure 3.3: Period of data collection



Of the 19 articles with available information, the data collection period ranged from 3 months to 36 months. Most of the studies collected data for 1 year and more.

Further analysis was made between the year of completion of data collection and the year an article was published; see **Figure 3.4**.

Figure 3.4: Time lag between data collection completion and publication

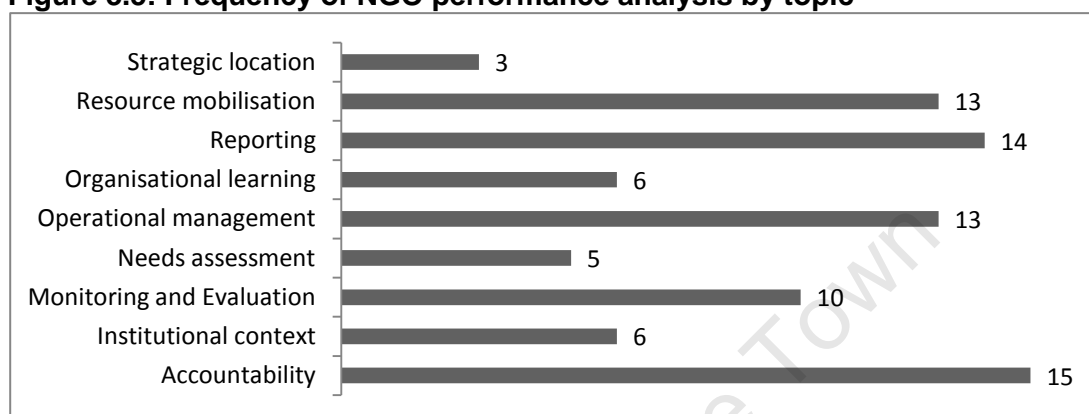


Available information from 19 articles reveals that the time lag ranges between 1 and 6 years. The majority of the studies (15) experienced a time lag of 3 and more years, with only 4 studies published within 2 years of the completion of data collection.

Study topics

The topics examined in each study were further extracted and analysed. Nine main categories of topics were distinguished from the 31 studies. **Figure 3.5** shows the reported frequency.

Figure 3.5: Frequency of NGO performance analysis by topic



The most frequently mentioned topics were accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation and operational management. The least examined were strategic location, needs assessment, institutional context and organisational learning.

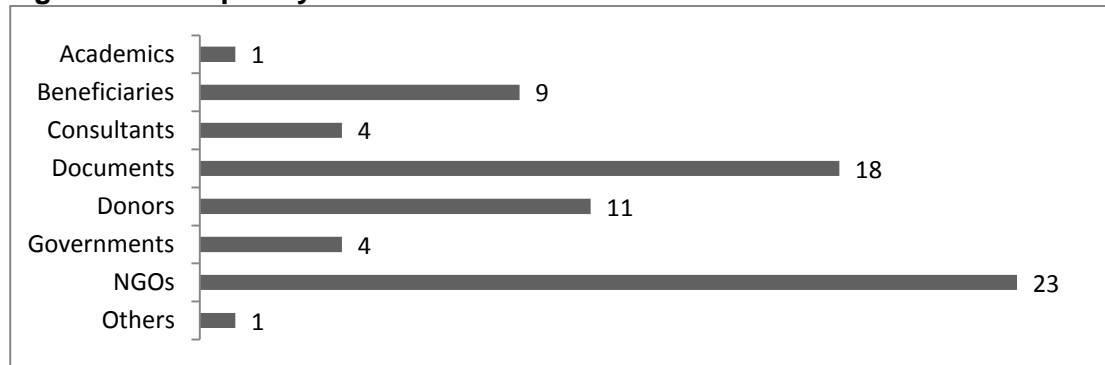
Study methods

Of the 31 studies, the majority reported primary data (26), whilst only a few examined secondary data. The studies utilised both qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and workshops, and quantitative methods particularly questionnaire surveys. A few studies utilised mixed methods, and combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Similar variation is observed in the sample size. This ranged from examination of 1 organisation to nation-wide surveys of NGOs.

Sources of information

Figure 3.6 shows the frequency with which each source of data were reported.

Figure 3.6: Frequency of sources of data



The most frequently preferred source of data were NGO staff, followed by documents and records, and donor agencies. The least utilised were beneficiaries, consultants (included technical assistance providers, accounting bodies and external experts), governments, academics and others (included labour organisations and press).

Discussion

The systematic review, on which this paper is based, restricted its focus on literature that reported on factors influencing NGO performance. This paper has presented the research characteristics of articles included in the review.

The systematic search found only 31 articles. This number is small in comparison with the volume (14,469) of citations on NGOs, and large number (1,012) of academic articles on other subject matters on NGOs. The studies included in this review correspond to a mere 0.21% and 3.06% of each of these groups respectively. Thus the systematic search provides evidence that a significantly large volume of publications on NGOs exists, but are contained in books, organisational reports, newspaper and newsletter articles, and various types of grey literature. It further shows that despite the large growth of interest in NGOs and the large body of publications on NGOs, in contracts there is an insignificant number of academic peer-reviewed journal articles on factors influencing NGO performance. These findings substantiate previous arguments that the organisation and management of NGOs have received relatively little attention from researchers (Lewis, 2007), the subject of NGOs has not yet entered the academic mainstream and hence the overall state of knowledge remains somewhat underdeveloped (Lewis, 2006). This provides

evidence that further rigorous academic research is required in order to deepen our understanding of NGO performance.

This status may be attributed to several factors. First, the fields of NGO management and research are relatively new (Lewis, 2007), and measuring NGO performance, rather than of projects or programmes they implement, continues to be relatively underdeveloped. (Fowler, 1996) Second, many scholars indicate that little research has been published, numerous organisational reviews are kept confidential, biases remain towards publishing positive results, with failures concealed due to various sensitivities and fears particularly revocation of funding, along with biases towards undertaking reviews and publishing results from well resourced organisations (Cassen, 1986; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). Third, data from this study provides evidence that the research process is lengthy and intensive. One proxy indicator is the long period of data collection, for most took more than a year, with some up to 3 years. However, these figures need to be treated with caution, as the duration is a product of the ways studies reported the period of data collection and some were not explicit. For instance, a study in 2000 to 2002 may not have necessarily taken 3 years. Another proxy is the time lags between completion of data collection and publication of an article, as majority of the articles have a time lag of 3 or more years. This may suggest that data capture, analysis, verification, writing, peer-review and acceptance of an article for publication are extremely intensive time consuming processes. Or it may suggest that authors endeavour to publish their work long after studies are completed. It may further be that some authors are able to generate multiple articles from the same data, and a unique new line of argument is only concretised long after data has been collected. Nonetheless, this is not atypical of research work in other areas, which culminates in the publication of a journal article.

The publication time analysis provides evidence that since 1996 there has been a steady increase in the number of academic publications on factors influencing NGO performance. The sharpest increase observed was from 2005-2008, with the highest yearly intensity observed in 2007. This may indicate a growing awareness of the need to understand factors influencing NGO performance.

Interest in factors influencing NGO performance has found home in a wide array of journals. The ratio of articles to journals is a mere 1:1.55, providing evidence that there is no exceptionally preferred publication outlet. Articles were not only published

in development studies journals, but also in other types of journals particularly evaluation and accountability, health and political journals. This is consistent with sentiments by Edwards and Fowler (2002) that NGO literature is widely dispersed and locating it requires long and hard searches, as was the experience of the researcher in this study. It may further confirm that NGO performance is a multi-disciplinary field continually drawing ideas and techniques from other fields (Lewis, 2007), particularly from international development, management, health, politics and law. Whilst it is indeed challenging to find articles on NGO performance, we put forward that a group of journals publishing on NGOs may allow for diversity and stimulate debate.

Location analysis by author and by study reveals that there is an international scope in researching NGO performance. Authors were located and the studies conducted in both developing and developed countries covering all the continents of Africa, Asia, Australia and Oceania, Europe, North America, and South America. The comparatively few studies in Latin America may be attributed to the fact that only English language publications were included in this study, whilst Latin American countries mostly publish in Spanish and Portuguese.

Further analysis, however, reveals that most studies were undertaken by researchers and academics affiliated to institutions in developed countries at the time of publication. In contrast, the majority of studies examined NGOs in developing countries. Deeper author and study location analysis provides evidence that most studies in developing countries were conducted by researchers in developed countries, whilst all studies in developed countries were conducted by researchers in developed countries. Whilst there is rhetoric of 'North-South' and even 'South-South' collaboration and participation in international development (Wallace and Chapman, 2003; Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005; Theron, 2008), this seems not to have infiltrated into research on understanding NGO performance.

This striking finding raises further questions. The first is whether this trend could be attributed to low capacity of scholars in developing countries or if they are particularly interested in NGO performance studies. It may suggest that institutions in developed countries have more established resources, reputation and capacities than institutions in developing countries to examine NGO performance, and hence scholars interested in this field are affiliated with these institutions. According to

Mishra *et al* (2005), India has many institutions to prepare management professionals in the private corporate sector, but none in the NGO sector, particularly in development management hence scholarship in development management of NGOs has lagged far behind practice. Another question is whether there is a trend of 'Northern' institutions examining 'Southern' institutions, particularly as large amounts of development funding originate from 'Northern' countries. Wallace and Chapman (2003) argue that while UK NGOs and donors state commitment to downward accountability and promotion of local ownership and control of development, the policies and procedures of funding disbursement and accounting ensures upward accountability dominates, which is part of a wider problem of donor domination of recipients. Furthermore, according to Muchungunzi and Milne (1995) the 'South' always has to account to the 'North' and not vice versa, whilst donor money and expertise is more valued than 'South' labour and expertise. This finding may therefore be a reflection of the practice of donors commissioning institutions in the 'North' to assess development partners in the 'South'. Aid agencies in developed countries appear to have established a practice of commissioning organisations and universities in developed countries to undertake assessments of aid recipients and partners in developing countries. These questions may be the subject of future research and policy review.

This review further provides evidence that several topics were examined in understanding NGO performance. Nine categories of assessing NGO performance were distinguished from the 31 articles. The most commonly examined topics were accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation, operational management, and monitoring and evaluation. Less commonly examined topics were organisational learning, institutional context, needs assessment and strategic location.

However, this finding needs to be interpreted with caution, as the categories of topics identified, and the frequency with which they were reported are products of the way studies defined topics. For instance, some studies used the term 'governance' while discussing 'accountability' issues. Further, there seems to be an overlap between various practices as some topics were examined under the banner of others. Most commonly, accountability emerged as an umbrella term that incorporates aspects of governance, financial reporting, monitoring and evaluation. Additionally, organisational learning involves the processes of monitoring, evaluation and reflection whereby lessons are learnt from experiences. This reflects an overlap and

interconnection between the different organisational processes and organisational performance assessment processes. It further shows that the universe of organisational performance is multi-dimensional and relevant to a broad range of management themes.

Nonetheless, there is the need to further explore relatively new topics. First, attention must be paid particularly to the institutional context and influencing the external environment. This is also in line with Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) sentiments that NGOs simultaneously play the roles of service delivery and advocacy (policy influencing or formation) and these roles must not be separated, as donors tend to do. NGOs must pay attention to representing beneficiaries and their communities while standing their ground and resist donor-drivenness be it from donor agencies, government or corporate sponsors. Second, NGO strategic location studies needs attention. This will provide evidence for policy effectiveness, and strategically located interventions will improve beneficiaries' access to essential resources (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a).

Whilst detail of the period of data collection is a usual requirement in research, less than half (13 out of 31) of the studies in this review explicitly met this requirement. Some studies did not discuss the methods used. Future research in the area of understanding NGO performance would benefit from an explicitly reported methodology section.

Analysis of the sources of data distinguished 8 categories, reflecting the trend that researchers gather data from various sources. This confirms that NGO practitioners, international development agencies, institutional donors, governments, technical assistance providers, academics and beneficiaries are involved in varying magnitudes in assessing NGO performance. However, further analysis shows a marked preference towards gathering data from NGO staff, particularly from senior- and middle-level managers including directors/executives, programme coordinators and programme staff. Few studies endeavoured to source information from NGO field workers.

While there is some seeking of data from beneficiaries, this is comparatively small. This may suggest that the rhetoric of beneficiary participation and engagement seems not to have been effectively implemented in research projects, and may be a

proxy reflection of the reality in intervention practices. Of the two forms of participation – in implementation and in decision-making – beneficiaries are often involved in implementing activities based on decisions taken in other fora. Beneficiaries are important stakeholders who should be involved from the design to evaluation, and back again to reformulation of development interventions (Szporluk, 2009). Furthermore, incorporating their voices into studies generates data that would otherwise be overlooked and can make the realities and experiences of beneficiaries count more (Chambers, 2009), for beneficiaries know what is helpful and what is not (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004).

Finally, we turn to focus on the African continent. Strikingly only 3 of 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa were affiliated to an institution in Africa; namely in Cameroon, South Africa and Tanzania. These 3 represent less than a tenth of all the 38 authors of the 31 articles. This evidence is in line with findings of a research performance assessment at a university in South Africa that the social sciences were one of the weakest (Pouris, 2006). It reveals the need to address the low number of published researchers in Africa. It further evokes the argument for the African Renaissance paradigm, which calls for African people and nations to overcome the current challenges confronting Africa (Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia, 2010), echoing messages by African leaders including Kwame Nkrumah, Steve Biko, Mwai Kibaki and Thabo Mbeki. As a form of building Africa by Africans, there is crucial need to nurture African researchers. Along with this, the sparse partnership with African based researchers in the field of NGO performance research should be addressed, as there are strengths in research collaborations (Sooryamoorthy, 2010).

Strengths and limitations

This study makes a unique contribution to the social sciences, as relatively few systematic reviews have been employed as a methodology in social science research, compared to the biological field. It makes a contribution to research in NGO performance and development studies, and provides information on journals that publish articles on understanding NGO performance. It further provides crucial evidence that policy makers and donors require to inform future funding decisions.

There are however limitations that should be taken into consideration. The review restricted its search to online academic articles, written in English, specifically focused on factors influencing NGO performance. The search criteria thus excluded journal articles in other languages, in non-electronic journals, and other published and 'grey' literature. These publications possibly contain relevant data that may have made significant contribution.

Conclusions

This study has detailed a systematic literature review of an international scope, and explored the salient characteristics of NGO performance research. It has demonstrated that understanding NGO performance is a multi-faceted arena in which many issues are explored by academics, NGO practitioners, donors, governments and policy makers. Notwithstanding the modest number of studies that fully met the inclusion criteria, emergent evidence supports three key conclusions and recommendations with research, practice and policy implications.

First, from 1996-2008 there has been steady, though insignificant, growth in the number of journal articles investigating factors influencing NGO performance. We join other scholars and call for increased research on NGO performance. Future studies should explicitly examine and report on facilitating and constraining factors, in order to increase learning from practice, to deepen our understanding in this field, to facilitate more robust conclusions to be made, and to inform or challenge policy decisions. These would benefit from an explicit and more robust methodology section, to enhance further meta-analysis and comparison studies.

Second, most studies gather information from a wide range of sources, with comparatively minimal seeking of beneficiaries' perspectives. Similarly, few studies assessed beneficiary needs as a topic in understanding NGO performance. This suggests the need not only to intensify efforts to understand beneficiary needs, but also to gather organisational performance assessment information from beneficiaries.

Finally, this study found plausible evidence that there is an insignificant number of published researchers based in Africa in the field of NGO performance assessment. Additionally, little academic research on NGO performance is undertaken in

partnership with researchers in Africa. This reveals the need to advocate for policy-makers in academic, donor, government and development institutions to intensively identify, encourage, support and nurture researchers in Africa in the field of development and performance management.

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Chapter 4. Location of development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to study the location of NGO offices and service sites was hers. This study emerged from the wealth of data collected during the mapping of NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people. The mapping was necessary as it identified a data-set of 93 NGOs and ensured a comprehensive listing before sampling was done. This study proved to be highly valuable as NGO location is an emerging field of study in NGO performance, and crucial findings with policy implications emerged. Data were sought and extracted from key databases, and where there were gaps, Roselyn searched the NGO websites and/or contacted NGOs for further information. Data were populated into an MS Excel spreadsheet and then imported into SPSS for analysis. Guidance with statistical analysis was sought from Victor Katoma, a Doctoral Researcher at the UCT Graduate School of Business. Roselyn wrote the paper and Prof Flisher provided the supervision, ensured that the findings were statistically sound, clearly stated, and paper written in the format required by the journal.

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Abstract

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have been crucial players in HIV and AIDS from the onset of the epidemic in South Africa. We examined development NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole District of the Western Cape Province, with a view to analyse the location of their offices and service sites in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates. The dataset were made up of 93 NGOs identified between October 2006 and August 2007. Whilst our results show that an increasing number of NGOs provide services to young people, thus suggesting a strategic response since young people bear the brunt of new HIV infections, the sheer numbers of NGOs do not translate into significant targeting of either offices or service sites within higher HIV prevalence areas. Thus NGO location is not determined by HIV prevalence. We argue that these findings must be considered by development practitioners, donors, planners and policy makers, in order to realign and intensify interventions in communities of most need. Moreover, there must be explicit acknowledgement of the importance of location and the utilisation of HIV prevalence rates as a strategic intent for service delivery in order to turn the HIV and AIDS tide at a faster rate.

Keywords

Non-governmental organisations, development, strategic location, HIV and AIDS, young people, South Africa

Introduction

International literature confirms that a growing number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are engaged in development work (Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Lewis, 1998; Ebrahim, 2005). Such development NGOs are increasingly recognised as important institutions in world affairs - players in the formulation, design and application of development strategies, along with disbursing aid (Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Goddard and Assad, 2006). This is premised on various notions, including that NGOs provide better targeted service as they are 'closer to the people' than governments and official aid agencies (Koch, *et al.*, 2008); that NGOs ensure donor aid reaches the poor and render it more effective (Nunnenkamp, Weingarth and Weisser, 2008); that NGOs provide services that business and government sectors are unable or unwilling or failing to provide (Lewis, 1998; Lewis and Madon, 2004; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006); and that NGOs offer space for civil society to come together, participate in their society, lobby, advocate and be heard on important issues that affect them (Coates and David, 2002; Ringsing and Leeuwis, 2008). However, many scholars have cautioned that these grounds are based on ideological assumptions in the absence of empirical verification (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006).

Despite the growing number of development NGOs and the increasing recognition of the role they play, and despite NGO literature indicating that the location of NGOs is crucial, academic research on the geographical choice of NGOs remains undeveloped (Koch, 2007). The few published studies have analysed country-specific location across various development issues, with special attention to countries like Bangladesh (Gauri and Fruttero, 2003; Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Gauri and Galef, 2005). Others include Mexico (Campion, 2002), Uganda (Barr and Fafchamps, 2006) and Kenya (Brass, 2009). There is, however, slightly more in the literature regarding the allocation of aid both in-country and across-countries (see, for example, Jung and Moon, 2007; Koch, 2007; Koch, *et al.*, 2008; Nunnenkamp, Weingarth and Weisser, 2008). Efforts to locate any publications that examined the location choices of NGOs in a specific development agenda, either in South Africa or elsewhere proved fruitless. Specifically, little is known about where development NGOs locate their offices and service sites, and how well targeted the locations are with regard to specific development issues.

Importance of identifying development NGO location

The importance of understanding the location issues of development NGOs is well documented in development literature. According to Fruttero and Gauri (2005), such understanding provides evidence for policy effectiveness, as donors and policy makers need to ascertain the claim by NGOs that they reach the neediest, and hence represent valuable partners in successful development. In addition, it assists donors, government departments and other funding agencies to specify better contracts with NGOs, which is vital for success in development work (Fowler, 1998).

Understanding NGO location significantly contributes towards increasing knowledge of the context within which development agencies operate (Thomas, 1996). Patterns and trends provide crucial information on areas of over - or under-coverage, reflecting over - or under-concentration and delivery. This is vital, as access to resources is essential for effective development (Allen and Thomas, 2000). The tendency to cluster facilities in one area results in excess capacity, at the cost of positioning in other areas of equal or greater need, which exacerbates their lack of access to resources (Eyben, *et al.*, 2008), therefore resulting in overall under-utilisation of potential services (World Bank, 2003). This information is crucial for achieving the strategic intents of NGOs, as more efficiency and effectiveness is increasingly required (Lewis, 2003).

Furthermore, knowledge of NGO location is important, as it facilitates identification of potential partners in order to foster strategic partnerships and relationships. There are a variety of agencies which participate in development, whilst no individual organisation has access to all the resources required for development (Thomas, 1996; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000).

Moreover, NGO location information provides development practitioners, planners and governments with necessary data to develop clear policies and guidelines on strategic locations. This evidence-based knowledge is crucial for informing, dialoguing and influencing policy makers by putting a compelling case before those who may be fixed in their positions (Court, Hovland and Young, 2005; Thomas and Mohan, 2007).

South Africa

Although academic research on development NGOs in South Africa is limited, emerging reports indicate that development NGOs are growing in numbers (Williams, *et al.*, 2001), and play a critical role in the health, educational and social welfare sectors. However, Taylor (2007:1) notes that there is inadequate appreciation of NGOs, arguing that "...instead of continuing to be supported, they (NGOs) have been depleted. NGOs have been used to manage the people's participation in the change, to write the new policies, to contribute skilled people to the new leadership of state and business, and now, increasingly, to deliver services" to the detriment of NGOs influencing policy and building the democracy of South Africa.

As is similar in many developing countries, development NGOs in South Africa have responded from the onset of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and play two main roles: to research, develop and deliver services, and to advocate and influence policy (Rau, 2007; AIDS Foundation South Africa, 2009; AVERT, 2009; SANGONeT, 2009). The increasing recognition of the important role played by development NGOs is demonstrated by the partnerships formed between them and various stakeholders. In the Western Cape Province, the provincial departments of education and health have formed a partnership with development NGOs to roll out a Peer Education programme in high schools (see, for example, Flisher, *et al.*, 2005). This programme has existed since 2001, and is currently implemented by eight NGOs in 100 selected high schools apparently in areas with the highest HIV prevalence in the province (Western Cape Provincial Department of Health, 2009).

The importance of development NGOs in HIV and AIDS was given momentum by the rise of AIDS denialism in South Africa, particularly during the second post-apartheid government. Denialism was characterised by national leaders remaining silent on, or dismissive of the magnitude of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and reluctance to take effective action, as demonstrated by political statements that contradicted policy, which resulted in growing disenchantment with the state (Kareithi, 2004; Rau, 2007). The emergence of development NGOs as important players in the HIV and AIDS field was further promoted by NGOs having an ongoing culture of political activism that started during the apartheid era, and policy changes under the new democracy that enabled the growth of NGOs. As a result, a large part of the responsibility of

dealing with HIV and AIDS has continued to fall on the NGO sector over the years (Williams, *et al.*, 2001).

South Africa is a good case study on the location of NGOs in the agenda to fight HIV and AIDS. This is essentially due to the magnitude of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and to the key role NGOs play in addressing HIV and AIDS. South Africa has emerged as ground zero for the HIV and AIDS epidemic, as it has the highest number of people with HIV and AIDS in any country in the world, with approximately 5.7 million people having been infected with HIV by 2007, which is reported to have decreased to 5.2 million people by 2008 (Republic of South Africa, 2008; UNAIDS, 2008; AVERT, 2009; Rohleder, *et al.*, 2009; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009). It is now no longer under debate that HIV and AIDS represent a fundamental crisis. For instance there are increasing challenges to make AIDS treatment widely available. By 2007, for every one person on anti-retroviral therapy (ART) there were 16 new HIV infections (Republic of South Africa, 2008).

The sharpest increase in HIV infection is among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), there are approximately 192,000 new infections per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). The most recent reports show promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009).

The second reason why South Africa is a good case study is the proliferation of a large number of different types of NGOs. NGOs concerned with HIV and AIDS began to emerge in the late 1980s, and by 1997 there were over 600 such NGOs (Williams, *et al.*, 2001). The number includes NGOs that provide a wide range of services to young people aged 10-24 years (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b).

Therefore, a study of the location of NGOs in HIV and AIDS is an important undertaking. The question is: Given that NGOs are key players in fighting the HIV and AIDS epidemic in South Africa, how well targeted are their location choices? The results of this study should significantly contribute to bridging an empirical research gap, and are also crucial in informing NGO practitioners, planners, policy makers, donors and governments. This study is unique in that to the best of our knowledge, it

is the first of its kind to have ventured to examine the location of development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people.

Although the Western Cape province has the lowest HIV prevalence rate in South Africa, there is wide variation in the HIV prevalence across districts, with the highest prevalence observed in the Cape Metropole district (Shaikh, *et al.*, 2006). Hence, the geographical area for study was narrowed down to the Cape Metropole. In this area-level analysis, we evaluate whether the related indicator of need, in this case HIV prevalence rates per health sub-districts, have a significant impact on the location of NGO offices and service sites.

Methodology

The methodology consisted of several phases. In the first phase, attempts to obtain information on NGOs from provincial government departments revealed an absence of comprehensive information, as government officials only keep details of NGOs which they work with and/or fund¹. Online NGO and HIV and AIDS databases were thus our main sources of information. There are several databases that provide information on NGOs, particularly regarding contact details. General databases had insufficient detail on the nature of services provided by an organisation; the HIV and AIDS-related databases proved to have more detailed information. Nonetheless, we did not find any one database that comprehensively provided all the information required for this study. Therefore we gathered both secondary and primary data.

To start with, we extracted secondary data from key highly reputable databases. These were:

- NACOSA Western Cape Networking AIDS Community of South Africa (www.wc-nacosa.co.za);
- PRODDER, a Development Information Portal for NGOs in South Africa (www.prodเดอร์.org.za);
- AIDSbuzz Together Making Positive Connections, National Directory of Organizations (www.aidsbuzz.org);

¹ Personal communication with officials of the Western Cape Provincial Departments of Health and Education between March and July 2007.

- HIVAN Centre for HIV and AIDS Networking and HIV911 helpline² (www.hivan.org.za);
- AIDS Resource Centre with ASK Aids Survival Kit (www.askaidsmap.org.za);

The strategy of utilising more than one database proved to be most successful in availing a more comprehensive list and details of a large number of NGOs. Data were sought between 7th October 2006 and 31st July 2007. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were defined as:

- Any type of development NGO (also referred to as Not-for Profit/ Nonprofit Organisation/ Civil Society Organisation/ Faith Based Organisation) operating at different levels such as International NGOs, Regional NGOs, National NGOs, Community Based Organisations, and Grassroots Organisations - thus Government departments, schools, universities, hospitals, clinics, and private organisations were excluded;
- NGOs providing services to young people aged 10 to 24 years;
- NGOs providing any form of HIV and AIDS services; thus NGOs providing other types of development interventions were excluded;
- NGOs located within the metropolitan area of Cape Town.

The key search words were “NGO”, “NPO”, “HIV/AIDS”, “young people”, “youth” and “Cape Town”.

A ‘Typology - Data Collection Form’ was developed to guide the systematic and comprehensive collection of information. Various aspects were sought, and those relevant for this paper included: year of commencing provision of HIV and AIDS services to young people; geographical location of head office, and the geographical location of areas of service provision.

As there were several gaps in the information obtained from the databases, we further searched the NGO websites to extract more data. In several cases NGOs were contacted by telephone and/or through email for further information.

In South Africa, as in other countries, many NGOs working in the development field have expanded their existing programmes to address HIV and AIDS as well; a

² When the helpline was hosted by Cornerstone Christian College in Cape Town, the first author volunteered in setting up the HIV911 project.

smaller number of NGOs have been established specifically as HIV and AIDS development NGOs. Therefore the question we posed was the year in which the NGOs commenced providing HIV and AIDS services to young people, rather than the year of registration. In addition, as literature shows that NGOs concerned with HIV and AIDS began to emerge in the late 1980s, we utilised 1985 as a starting point and clustered the analysis in five-year intervals.

In the second phase of data collection, we refined the geographical coverage of the survey. The Western Cape Province has six districts, one of them being the Cape Metropole or City of Cape Town. Several years ago, the Cape Metropole district had six health sub-districts but the number was later increased to 11. Over the past couple of years, re-organisation of local and provincial government led to changes of designations and terms within the Western Cape Province³. The Cape Metropole district is now sub-divided into eight health sub-districts.

After intensive consideration, we finally based the geographical coverage of this area-level analysis of the Cape Metropole district on the 11 health sub-district areas, namely Blaauwberg, Cape Town Central, Greater Athlone, Helderberg, Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu/Nyanga, Oostenberg, South Peninsula, Tygerberg Eastern and Tygerberg Western. This was not only due to time and funding constraints, but more so due to the fact that we managed to obtain HIV prevalence data from the Provincial Department of Health from 2001 to 2006 based on these 11 areas; HIV prevalence data pertaining to the current eight areas was only available for 2005 and 2006. The HIV prevalence data by area over a period of time was essential for our analysis as discussed below. Moreover, re-drawing of some boundaries of localities would have led to the loss of crucial data during analysis. This was particularly evident with the incorporation of Cape Town Central into Western, which was formerly largely part of Blaauwberg, and the incorporation of Gugulethu/Nyanga into Southern Peninsula, now known as Southern.

The geographical location of offices and areas of service provision was then categorised according to the 11 health sub-districts, carefully utilising the Cape

³ During data collection, we noticed that the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health and the City of Cape Town demarcated the geographical area slightly differently. The research team had to seek for assistance in this regard.

Metropole sub-districts map⁴. It was found that offices and operations of two NGOs were outside the defined geographical area. Thus the respective entries of these NGOs were discarded in a bid to ensure consistency in capturing only data for NGOs in the defined area. The loss of this part of the data did not significantly alter the results, as this constituted only two cases out of 95.

Thereafter, a grid was developed in MS-Excel which was populated with the data obtained, and screened for as detailed and complete information as possible. This grid was then exported to SPSS, a statistical software package, for data analysis. After exporting the data from MS-Excel to SPSS, screening of the data for consistency and accurate reporting then followed. No cases with missing values were detected on imputation checks. In SPSS the data were mostly categorical and defined accordingly, and we mainly utilised frequency and intensity analysis (Popping, 2000).

In the final phase of data collection, data on HIV prevalence in the Cape Metropole district, by health sub-district, were sourced from the Western Cape Area Level HIV Surveys (see, for example, Western Cape Provincial Department of Health, 2006). Efforts were made to gather data on the HIV prevalence among young people aged 10-24 years in each of the health sub-districts. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain data disaggregated by age category, thus the HIV prevalence data from the antenatal surveys were utilised as a proxy.

Results

During the period 7th October 2006 to 31st July 2007, we identified 93 different NGOs in the Cape Metropole District that provide HIV/AIDS services to young people. Of these 93 NGOs, only 22.6% work exclusively with young people as the majority provide services to young people and other age groups.

Year of commencing service provision

Findings show that over the years there has been a steady increase in the number of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people. As Table 4.1 indicates, only four NGOs reported commencing service provision before 1985, and a further five

⁴ The researchers had to seek assistance in obtaining the maps from the City of Cape Town, and the Provincial Department of Health.

NGOs commenced between 1985 and 1989. Between 1990 and 1994, the number rose by a figure of 11 NGOs, and then further by another 18 NGOs between 1995 and 1999. The number of new NGOs in this field shot up by an additional 48 NGOs between 2000 and 2004. The data for 2005 onwards represented only two years, and during that period seven more NGOs commenced work with young people in the area of HIV and AIDS.

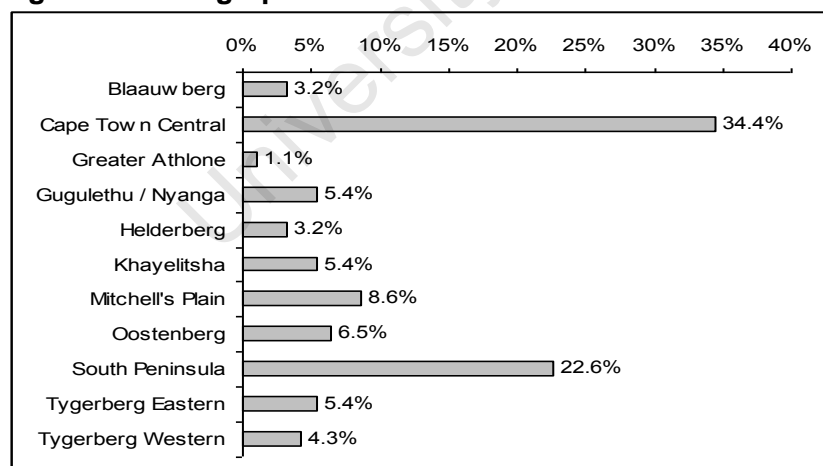
Table 4.1: NGOs' year of commencement of service provision

Period	Number
Before 1985	4
1985 - 1989	5
1990 - 1994	11
1995 - 1999	18
2000 - 2004	48
2005 - 2007	7
Total	93

Development NGO location

We examined the geographical clustering of these NGOs from two perspectives: firstly on the basis of the location of NGO offices and secondly by area of service provision. Figure 4.1 illustrates the resulting intensity of NGO offices across the 11 health sub-districts, while Figure 2 illustrates the intensity of service provision.

Figure 4.1: Geographical concentration of NGO offices



From Figure 4.1, it is evident that there was a marked variation in the intensity of preferred areas of locating NGO offices. The highest concentration of NGO offices was in Cape Town Central (34.4%) and South Peninsula (22.6%), which together account for 57%. The medium preferred areas of locating offices are Mitchell's Plain

and Oostenberg. The lowest preferred areas are Khayelitsha, Gugulethu/Nyanga and Tygerberg Eastern (each at 5.4%), with even lower concentration in Tygerberg Western, Blaauwberg, Helderberg, and Greater Athlone.

Figure 4.2: Geographical concentration of service provision

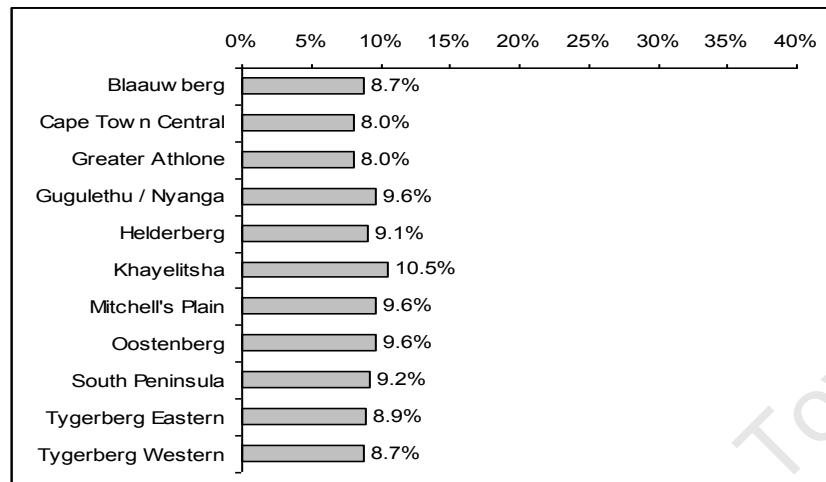


Figure 4.2 illustrates that there was no marked variation in the intensity of preferred areas of service provision, as there was only a 2.5% variability between the highest and lowest. Highest concentration of service provision was in Khayelitsha (10.5%), followed by Gugulethu/Nyanga, Mitchell's Plain and Oostenberg (each at 9.6%). Nonetheless, all the areas experienced a more-or-less even intensity in service provision.

NGO location and HIV prevalence

We then turned to compare our findings of the concentration of NGO location of offices and service sites with HIV prevalence by area. Our aim here was to identify whether NGOs allocated their efforts in areas of higher HIV prevalence.

To start with, we examined the HIV prevalence by area from 2001 to 2006; see the middle columns of Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: HIV prevalence by health sub-district between 2001 and 2006

Sub-health districts	% HIV Prevalence by health districts in the Cape Metropole						Average % HIV prevalence over 6 years
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Blaauwberg	0.6	8.2	4.4	1.2	7.3	5.8	4.6
CapeTown Central	3.7	11.9	11.6	13.7	11.5	11.1	10.6
Greater Athlone	6.8	8.9	10.1	16.4	17.7	12.9	12.1
Helderberg	19.0	19.1	19.1	18.8	12.8	17.3	17.7
Khayelitsha	22.0	24.9	27.2	33.0	32.6	32.7	28.7
Mitchell's Plain	0.7	4.0	6.3	12.9	5.1	11.3	6.7
Gugulethu/Nyanga	16.1	27.8	28.1	29.1	29.1	28.8	26.5
Oostenberg	5.7	14.5	16.1	14.8	16.2	18.8	14.4
South Peninsula	5.9	6.0	9.3	10.8	12.4	11.5	9.3
Tygerberg Eastern	6.1	10.4	7.9	12.7	15.2	15.6	11.3
Tygerberg Western	7.9	12.7	8.1	15.1	15.0	16.0	12.5

(Data on HIV Prevalence sourced from the Western Cape Area Level Surveys 2002, 2005 and 2006)

The six-year trend data revealed a significant increase in the HIV prevalence across all areas. It was also evident that the prevalence varies in magnitude and growth. Khayelitsha, Gugulethu/Nyanga and Helderberg (until 2004) had the highest HIV prevalence, while the lowest prevalence was noted in Blaauwberg, Mitchell's Plain South Peninsula and Cape Town Central. Helderberg was the only area that had a lower prevalence rate in 2006 compared to 2001, though an increase was observed between 2005 and 2006.

We then established the average percentage prevalence rate by area, as shown in the last column of Table 2. Although one limitation of utilising averages is that this can potentially skew data, it is evident that a similar picture emerged. The areas with the highest average percentage prevalence were Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. Areas with the medium average percentage prevalence were Helderberg, Oostenberg, Tygerberg Western, Greater Athlone, and Tygerberg Eastern. The lowest average percentage prevalence rates were in Cape Town Central, South Peninsula, Mitchell's Plain and Blaauwberg.

Taking the average percentage prevalence rate over six years as the basis, we then calculated the ratio of the concentration of NGO offices and service sites to the prevalence rate (see Table 4.3). This was to establish whether the intensity of NGO location was adequate to deal with the intensity of the HIV prevalence in each area.

Table 4.3: Ratio of NGO offices and service sites location to average percentage HIV prevalence rates

Sub-health district	NGO offices to HIV prevalence	Service sites to HIV prevalence
Blaauwberg	1: 0.698	1: 1.898
Cape Town Central	1: 3.250	1: 0.756
Greater Athlone	1: 0.091	1: 0.659
Helderberg	1: 0.305	1: 0.543
Khayelitsha	1: 0.111	1: 0.317
Mitchell's Plain	1: 0.804	1: 1.563
Gugulethu/Nyanga	1: 0.325	1: 0.362
Oostenberg	1: 0.453	1: 0.669
South Peninsula	1: 2.426	1: 0.988
Tygerberg Eastern	1: 0.477	1: 0.787
Tygerberg Western	1: 0.345	1: 0.698

Overall, this clearly revealed that there are discrepancies in both the intensity of preferred geographical location of NGO offices and areas of service provision, compared to the intensity of HIV prevalence. The comparison of NGO offices to HIV prevalence showed over-concentration only in two areas, namely, Cape Town Central (1:3.250) and South Peninsula (1:2.426). A slightly better scenario was found in Mitchell's Plain (1:0.804). In all other areas, the ratio figures revealed a much lower level of NGO offices than appropriate, given the average HIV percentage prevalence rates. The lowest ratios were in Greater Athlone and Khayelitsha, showing the least appropriate levels of concentration of NGO offices.

The comparison of NGO service sites to HIV prevalence showed slight over-concentration only in two areas: Blaauwberg (1:1.898) and Mitchell's Plain (1:1.563). A slightly better scenario was found in South Peninsula (1:0.988). Similarly, in all other areas the ratio of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates was much lower than ideal. It was interesting to note that Cape Town Central, which had an over-concentration of NGO offices, also faced a low ratio of service sites (1:0.756). The lowest ratios of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates were in Khayelitsha (1:0.317) and Gugulethu/Nyanga (1:0.362).

Discussion

The study of 93 development NGOs clearly found evidence that a significant number of different types of development NGOs have emerged to respond to the HIV and AIDS needs of young people over the last 2 decades. The sharpest increase

observed was between 2000 and 2004 (51.6%) and between 1995 and 1999 (19.4%). This confirmed that development NGOs have responded to addressing the HIV and AIDS needs of young people, which is a strategic approach given that one way to halt the spread of HIV and AIDS is to focus on young people (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007).

We take note that the data of 2005 onwards only represented a two-year period. Around 2011, therefore, it would be interesting to obtain the actual additional number of NGOs during the period 2005 to 2010, to establish whether there would be any changes in the trend. That is left to further research. This should be complimented with analysing the motives of development NGOs to provide HIV and AIDS services to young people.

The quantitative significance of the increasing number of NGOs notwithstanding, we examined the gap in knowledge on NGO location and how well targeted the locations are. Whether analysed by intensity of NGO office location or by ratio of NGO office location to the HIV percentage prevalence rates, we found a marked concentration of NGO offices in Cape Town Central and South Peninsula, confirming the view that NGOs often locate in the same geographical area. Given the reputation of development NGOs as being 'closer to the people', one would have expected community needs to be the key factor that influences NGO location. Clearly, this did not emerge strongly in this study. It is left to future research to identify the motives of these NGOs for their location choices.

The finding that NGOs operate in the same location is consistent with the findings of some international studies. Fruttero and Gauri (2005) examined the location of NGOs in Bangladesh and found that NGO choices were not related to indicators of community need, NGOs do not avoid duplication of effort, whilst it is probable that contracts with donors played a critical role. Campion (2002) examined rural NGOs in Mexico, and found that NGOs are not governed by the strategy to reach the people who need them most. Rather they (NGOs) are influenced by the different opportunities and constraints they initially encountered in their context, usually defined by the state. Barr and Fafchamps (2006) found evidence that although NGOs in Uganda endeavoured to redress the balance between rich and poor, they tended to neglect remote and poorer communities, and too often operated in the same location, thus clustering development interventions. The only opposing result found

was work by Brass (2009) on the location of NGOs in Kenya. Brass found that the need-factors play a significant role in determining location, along with the relative ease of reaching needy people, while political factors like patronage appear to have little or no influence.

There is a wide range of motivations underlying NGO location. According to Fruttero and Gauri (2005), there are incentives for NGOs to locate where donors are, suggesting that strategic funding considerations de-link location choices from indicators of local community needs. Location is largely attributed to proximity and visibility to government departments, donors and other NGOs, along with targeted priority areas of the funding agencies (Campion, 2002; Taylor, 2004; Jung and Moon, 2007; Koch, 2007; Nunnenkamp, Weingarth and Weisser, 2008). It has also been noted that the difficulty of reaching needy people, logistical costs, security and employee motivations hinder outreach to needier areas, since NGO employees prefer easier access to infrastructure for organisational, security and other personal needs (Dworken, 1999; Brass, 2009).

When we turned to the intensity of preferred areas of NGO service provision, we found a fairly even concentration in service provision across all health sub-districts. We also found that the highest intensity was in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. This initially suggested a link between NGO preferred areas of service provision and HIV prevalence, since Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga have the highest average HIV percentage prevalence rates over several years. However, deeper analysis revealed a different picture. The lowest ratios of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates were in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. This is a most insightful finding. It was clearly evident that despite the number of NGO service sites in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga, the intensity is significantly inadequate compared to the severity of HIV prevalence in these areas.

This confirms that NGOs do not strongly link their preferred area of service provision with HIV prevalence. Clearly the sheer number of NGOs has not necessarily translated into greater concentration of service provision in higher HIV prevalence areas. This finding offers much food for thought. On the one hand, it could be argued that this is advantageous, since NGOs provide a uniform coverage of service provision across the Cape Metropole district. On the other hand, it strongly highlighted that NGOs have not concentrated service provision in areas of higher HIV

prevalence. This may suggest that NGOs do not review, and hence fail to shift, strategic areas of service provision based on shifts in HIV prevalence. Therefore, areas of higher HIV prevalence have not received the intensive concentration of service provision that is expected.

What factors underlie the finding that NGOs offer a more-or-less uniform coverage throughout the geographical area? Could the uniform service delivery be a result of NGOs endeavouring to roll out interventions throughout the geographical area, with little room left to concentrate coverage in areas of greatest need? Gauri and Fruttero (2003) state that the choices of NGOs are significantly influenced by donors' concern for broad coverage, whilst Jung and Moon (2007) indicate that NGOs public-resource dependence significantly influences their behaviour and decisions. The South African government is a major donor in the HIV and AIDS arena nationally, and through partnerships, NGOs are increasingly contracted by government to provide services. Is it therefore plausible that the uniform coverage reflects a government concern for broad coverage in all areas, irrespective of prevalence rates? Alternatively, could the location choices be driven by the context found in high prevalence areas? Could issues of security and infrastructural service development be possible deterrents? These questions are left for further research.

The six-year HIV prevalence data showed that despite the Western Cape Province having the lowest HIV prevalence in the country, some health sub-districts, such as Khayelitsha, at times have marginally higher prevalence figures than the national HIV prevalence. Certainly district data of HIV prevalence conceals communities of greatest need. According to Shaikh et al. (2006), examining provincial estimates of HIV prevalence alone can potentially mask epicentres. They further argue that it is important to obtain sub-provincial data, in order to provide crucial information for local-level planning, resource allocation, monitoring and evaluation of HIV interventions. The findings of this study reveal the importance of examining health sub-districts data. In the same vein, analysis of smaller geographical areas must be further extended to specific suburbs, which are reported to have higher HIV prevalence rates such as Masiphumelele within the Southern Peninsula.

Conclusion

This study on the location of development NGOs is unique, as it narrows down to the development agenda of HIV and AIDS. We gained deeper insight into the targeting performance of development NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole district. We argued that if NGO location was determined by objective need-based grounds, then the concentration of NGO location of offices and service sites should be significantly intensive in areas of higher HIV prevalence. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first attempt of its kind in South Africa, as well as globally, on the development agenda of HIV and AIDS.

Several key issues emerged. Our results showed that a large and increasing number of development NGOs have responded to provide HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole district. Upon more in-depth analysis, what stands out is the overwhelming evidence that despite the large numbers, NGOs do not concentrate the location of their offices in higher HIV prevalence areas. Additionally, the sheer size of the quantitative numbers does not necessarily translate into greater concentration of service provision in higher HIV prevalence areas.

Although NGOs provided a more or less uniform coverage of services throughout the Cape Metropole district, there lacks a significantly strong link between areas of higher HIV prevalence and concentration of service delivery. This causes great concern. Could this be a proxy indicator as to why South Africa has not managed to turn the HIV and AIDS tide at a faster rate than the current performance? Since development NGOs are traditionally reputed to be 'closer to the people', and in South Africa NGOs play a key role in addressing HIV and AIDS, this finding has critical implications for policy. Furthermore, given that the highest HIV infection is among young people, the location of service sites urgently needs to be taken into account when specifically designing policy on the provision of HIV and AIDS services to young people. It would therefore be worthwhile to investigate how practitioners in the field of development, donors, planners, policy makers and the government can be strengthened and supported to acknowledge the importance of location, and utilise HIV prevalence rates as a strategic intent of service delivery. It is important to examine the situation not only at the provincial, district or sub-district level, but also at smaller area levels to create much needed information on areas reported to have higher HIV prevalence rates.

The main contribution of our paper is that higher HIV prevalence areas have not yet experienced greater intensity of HIV and AIDS services. We thus suggest an urgent strategic policy intervention to enable development practitioners to intensify service provision in high HIV prevalence areas. In developing contracts with NGOs, donors including the South African government, must utilise HIV prevalence as a guide in identifying areas of greatest need. Whereas location has traditionally been regarded as geographic information, mainly confined to geography, economic, financial and management literature, location information is highly essential for policy and service delivery effectiveness. A tactical location strategy will thus contribute to assisting better targeted service delivery for the benefit of the targeted group of people, and further to ensure accessibility of services to the people who need it most. Furthermore, it is essential that location strategies be periodically reviewed in light of changes in the context and the social problems being addressed so as to ensure that good locations do not turn out to be inappropriate after a period of time.

It remains open to debate, and further research, whether and to what extent, our findings would apply in other parts of the Western Cape Province and South Africa as a whole. Given the crucial findings and emerging questions relevant for policy making, it is recommended that similar studies, elsewhere in the world, be undertaken to examine the location targeting of NGO offices and particularly their service sites.

Acknowledgements

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University of Cape Town

Chapter 5. Development NGO management practices: A multiple-case study in South Africa

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to explore the management practices of development NGOs, as guided by the concept of Development Management, was fully hers. She convened a once-off Reference Group and provided the Panel of Experts with detailed information from the data-set of the 93 identified NGOs. They purposively sampled 5 NGOs, but 1 NGO was omitted from the field study as the NGO is engaged with child advocacy and does not provide primary HIV prevention services to young people. Multiple sources of data were used, including NGO directors, programme staff, young people, partner organisations and donors. Roselyn collected data from all sources, except in one instance when she was accompanied by a colleague at the Red Cross Children's Institute who assisted with English/isi-Xhosa translations. Transcribing was done by qualified transcribers who signed a confidentiality agreement. Roselyn analysed the data in Atlas.ti and wrote the paper. During field work, Prof Flisher provided the supervision and ensured that the methodology was sound. Prof Lund provided further supervision, ensured that findings were clear and the paper was written in the format required by the journal.

Current status

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Abstract

South Africa bears the highest burden of HIV and AIDS globally, with utmost incidence among young people. There has been an increase in development NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services, but relatively little research on the management practices of these NGOs. This paper first presents a Development NGO Management Cycle. It then uses it as the conceptual framework in a multiple-case study exploring management practices of four reputable NGOs with HIV prevention interventions for young people in Cape Town. Evidence shows that although capacities varied, the NGOs generally concentrated on strategic location and implementation compared to other practices. Other common practices were beneficiary participation, planning, resource mobilisation, monitoring, reporting and external evaluations. Most challenging were needs assessment, influencing external environment, reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. There is need for NGOs, with support from donors, to explicitly embrace the full range of management practices, particularly influencing the environment and organisational learning.

Keywords

Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs); Development Management; performance management; NGO performance; multiple-case study; HIV prevention; young people; Cape Town; South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

HIV and AIDS is a serious problem in South Africa (Wessels, Nattrass and Rivett, 2007). The country has the highest number of people with HIV and AIDS in the world hence emerging 'as ground zero for the pandemic' (Rohleder, et al., 2010: 1). The sharpest increase in HIV infection is among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), there are approximately 192,000 new infections per year among young people, of which 90 per cent are females (Rehle, et al., 2007). Recent reports, however, show promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, et al., 2009).

From the onset of the epidemic, development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)¹ have emerged as crucial players. A recent study shows evidence of a large proliferation of NGOs have responded by providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). Services range from primary prevention to early detection and patient care (Reddy, et al., 2010). The sharpest increase in NGOs was between 2000 and 2004, reaching a cumulative total of 93 NGOs by 2007; see Figure 5.1.

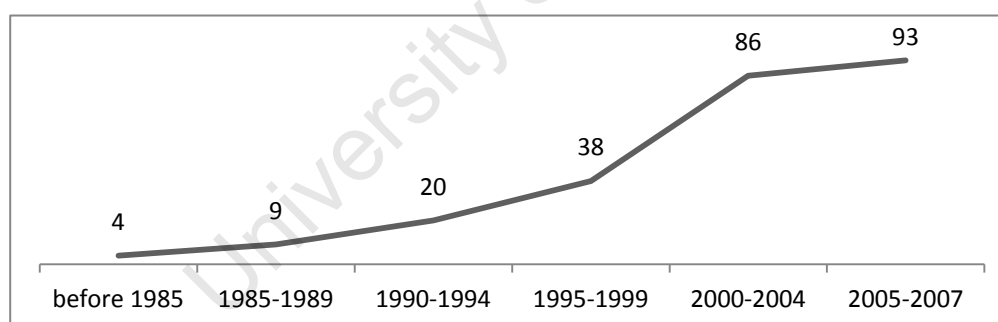


Figure 5.1: Increase in NGOs with HIV and AIDS interventions for young people in Cape Town (Source: (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a: 19)

¹ The diversity of NGOs is a complex, contested and controversial matter, which is not engaged with here. This article refers to NGOs involved in long-term development work. Hereafter the term NGO is utilised as shorthand for development NGOs.

Several national surveys have investigated the high HIV incidence from the perspective of individual behaviour of young people (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003; see, for example, Pettifor, *et al.*, 2004; Shisana, *et al.*, 2005; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Reddy, *et al.*, 2010), and a number of academic studies have focused on young people in Cape Town (see, for example, Flisher, *et al.*, 1993; Flisher, *et al.*, 2003; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2005; Mash, Kareithi and Mash, 2006; Mathews, *et al.*, 2009). These studies mainly attribute the high HIV incidence among young people to risky behaviour. However, there is a relative paucity of academic research that has examined the management practices of development NGOs targeting the HIV epidemic. This is an omission, given the major role NGOs play in HIV prevention and the increased global concern over NGO performance.

International literature confirms that there has been increased recognition of the important role NGOs play in the formulation, design and application of development strategies, in policy making and in disbursing aid. Alongside this, there has been substantial interest and concern over NGO performance from NGO practitioners, governments, citizens, donors, policy makers and academics (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2006). By the mid-1990s NGOs were making considerable effort to demonstrate their performance. This was due to doubts about NGOs' effectiveness over governments; increasing desire by NGOs to assess their achievements, manage organisational re-orientation and transformation, and improve accountability (Fowler, 1996; Paton, 2003); and stricter official aid requirements as donors became increasingly pre-occupied with effectiveness (Gneiting, 2008).

Whilst increased recognition of the role NGOs play is important, along with increased effort by NGOs to demonstrate their effectiveness, an area which has seldom been explored in research is the existing and non-existing management practices of NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people. NGO management is a relatively new subfield in development studies (Lewis, 2007), and exploring underlying factors influencing NGO performance remains an under-researched area (Kareithi and Lund, forthcoming-under review-a). According to Bebbington (2005), it is important to understand the internal and external context within which NGOs operate, in order to shift the analytical burden from one of blaming to one of explaining. Furthermore,

there is continued need to intensify engagement with HIV prevention as a long-term development issue (Barnett, 2004a).

In a bid to fill in the gap, an empirical exploratory study was undertaken, which sought to answer 'how?' and 'why?' questions regarding management practices of NGOs. This article details a multiple-case study of four NGOs providing primary HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. The objective was not to evaluate the NGO interventions, but rather to enhance understanding of the management practices and associated underlying factors. In order to provide an analytical framework to understand the empirical data, an amended project cycle management (PCM) was utilised, (hereafter referred to as the Development NGO Management Cycle). This cycle utilises a combination of principles of Development Management, along with performance management, and other key management principles as detailed in the literature.

This paper has six sections. Section 2 briefly explores the theoretical conceptualisation, indicates the rationale for modification of the PCM and then presents the Development NGO Management Cycle. The empirical research methodology is comprehensively described in Section 3. Section 4 presents the findings in detail, section 5 the discussion and section 6 concludes.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Development Management

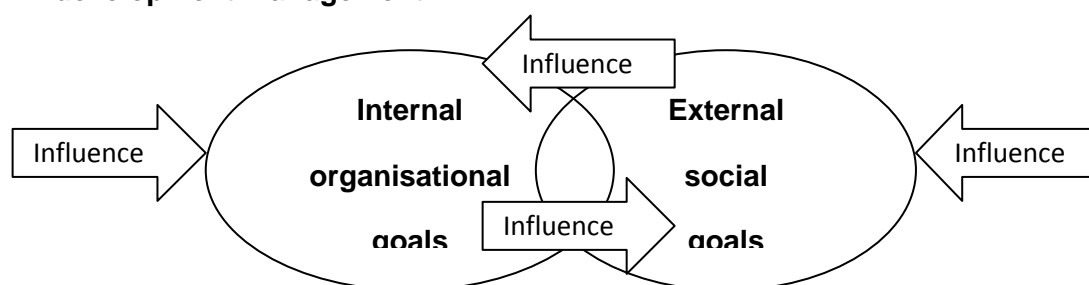
Research in the theory and practice of Development Management (DM) has grown (see, for example, Hewitt and Johnson, 1999; Brinkerhoff, 2008; Dar and Cooke, 2008). Theorists have offered numerous definitions of DM, resulting in several contrasting views. Lewis (2007) puts forward two fundamental problems of DM. Firstly, there is no broad agreement on the definition of DM due to the complexities that arise in efforts to combine concepts of 'management' and 'development'. Secondly, there is no agreement on the nature of development tasks and activities that need to be managed because activities are wide-ranging, and the terrain is highly contested.

In this paper, the notion of DM is embraced as defined by Alan Thomas (1996; 1999) who contends that DM is a distinctive form of management with several features that distinguish it from 'conventional management'. Conventional management focuses

on using resources to get the work done by the best means available, hence achieving organisational goals by co-ordinating internal organisational resources. In contrast, DM extends beyond internal organisational goals, towards directing effort to meet social goals external to any particular organisation. The conceptual underpinnings of DM involve management in the context of development as a long-term historical process, and management of deliberate intervention efforts or specific tasks aimed at progressive social change by various agencies, where goals and interests are subject to value-based conflicts. This involves intervening in social change processes and influencing the external environment within which organisations operate in a bid to enhance services provided to beneficiaries (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000; Kareithi, 2004); managing more effective interdependence in public action, which includes and excludes a range of actors and agendas (Robinson, 1999); and embedding reflections for learning beyond operational management challenges towards joint learning opportunities with other stakeholders (Abbott, Brown and Wilson, 2007). Hence, DM is a set of tools for managing development interventions, as well as an interdisciplinary field, and 'a means of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of development programmes and projects' (Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005: 35).

Whilst acknowledging that DM is a contested field with inherent ambiguities and hence not above reproach (Thomas, 2007), the concept of DM is used in this study as a distinctive form of management. It includes two inter-related dimensions of organisational functioning: internal and external.

Figure 5.2: The relationship between internal and external goals in development management



As **Figure 5.2** shows, it is not enough to manage an organisation and carry out planned activities (internal organisational goals), to ensure efficient and effective

implementation of development interventions. Rather, development organisations must go beyond that and aim at achieving external social goals not only by intervening in the social change process with a long-term focus, but also by explicitly identifying influencing factors, and then influencing the external context to create conducive environments for effective development.

Although development thinking should not only refer to the practice of development agencies (Thomas, 2000), there is need to discourage the tendency to separate the micro- from the macro- level (Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Furthermore, NGO management is an emerging specialised field, which forms a sub-set of wider DM (Lewis, 2007). Therefore, the authors propose that there is need to incorporate the key notions of DM into NGO performance management.

2.2 Project Cycle Management (PCM)

Development interventions tend to occur within projects (Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001), and NGOs, like other development organisations, use numerous approaches for project performance management. Common to many of these approaches is the familiar PCM (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Cracknell, 2000).

According to Cracknell (2000) Baum W.C, an economist with the World Bank, developed the cycle in the 1970s as a rational way of conceptualising and then managing projects. The cycle consists of various progressive phases. The number of stages, and names given to each stage, varies from one organisation to another. The PCM has evolved over many years, with the continuous stream of ideas that attempt to transform theory into practice, and vice versa. It has also developed from a single loop to a double loop cycle. Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Although the PCM has limitations (see, for example, Biggs and Smith, 2003; Brett, 2003), it is used in this study as it has become a standard tool in international development.

2.3 Emerging paradigms in NGO management

Over and above the management practices currently outlined in the PCM, a recent systematic review of the literature highlighted other additional important practices in managing development. Kareithi and Flisher (forthcoming-under review) reviewed

journal articles published between 1996 and 2008, which examined underlying factors influencing the performance of development NGOs. The main findings offer insights on four practices relevant to this paper. First, a conducive external environment was a major facilitating factor. NGOs are influential as they have greater autonomy than government agencies, are allowed more political space to work at grassroots, lobby and advocate to ensure supportive local environments (Edwards, 1999; Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). Partnership and networking are utilised not only to influence wider environments (Edwards, 1999), but also to share critical resources and knowledge. Second, organisational learning was embraced with the emerging realisation that organisational effectiveness was positively correlated with learning from experience, along with the desire to learn from what works and what does not (Roche, 2000). Third, effective beneficiary participation was important to ensure relevant interventions, and gain legitimacy. Scholars argue that beneficiaries know what is helpful and what is not (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Kilby, 2006). Beneficiary participation was to be sought in needs assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation, hence increasing the momentum of downward accountability (Mebrahtu, 2002). Fourth, NGO geographical strategic location choices remain relatively unexplored (Koch, et al., 2009) but are crucial to increase access to resources by the neediest beneficiaries, whilst avoiding duplication of effort (Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006) in areas of less need and/or excess capacity. Given the review findings, it is important to include emergent DM and performance management practices into traditional NGO management cycles, such as the PCM.

2.4 Modifying the PCM

Based on learning from the literature, the authors then modified the PCM to make it a contemporary guide in managing interventions. This resulted in the Development NGO Management Cycle, as set out in **Figure 5.3**.

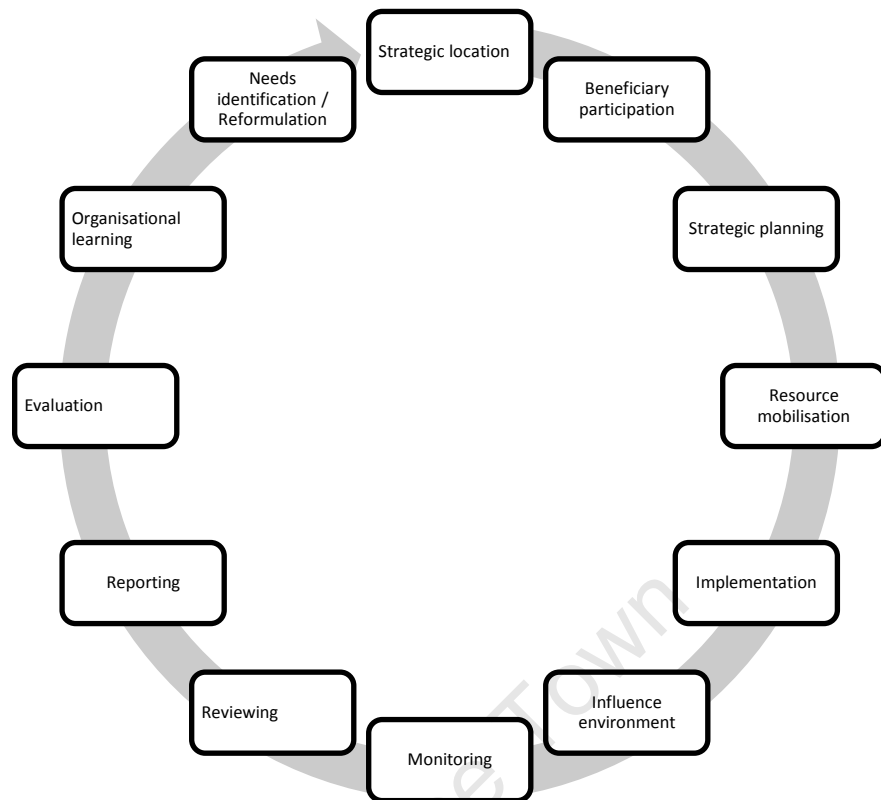


Figure 5.3: Development NGO Management Cycle

It must be noted that the ‘wrap-up’ stage, typical in many engineering and short-term projects, has been eliminated as focus is on long-term historical change processes; hence the emphasis on need re-formulation and re-planning. This framework is thus a spiral, rather than a cycle. Furthermore, while the spiral suggests sequential processes or stages, several practices occur simultaneously, jointly or throughout an intervention.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Empirical research objectives

The aim of the empirical research was to ground and enrich the concept of DM in NGO management through exploring the management practices of NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. The central research questions were to identify existing and non-existing management practices; to identify underpinning facilitating and constraining factors; and, to learn from practice.

3.2 Ethical Approval

Ethical approval for the research was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Health Sciences Faculty, University of Cape Town.² Further authorisation was granted by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health HIV and AIDS Committee.

3.3 Research Approach

The qualitative research approach was selected as the most appropriate as it facilitated deeper understanding, compared to a large sample survey, and assisted with understanding the existing phenomenon (Creswell, 2009). A multiple-case design, rather than a single case study, was chosen with multiple sources of evidence from both within and outside of the NGOs. This provided an in-depth triangulated picture, with more robust and compelling results (Yin, 2003).

3.4 Sampling Frame

In 2006-2007, studies identified 93 NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole District (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009b; Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). These NGOs were utilised as the sampling frame in this study.

3.5 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was employed, as the authors aimed to learn from practice from the most reputable NGOs. Sampling for proportionality and empirical representation was not the primary concern. Judgment, instead of randomness, was utilised in selecting organisations and respondents known or recommended to be particularly knowledgeable (Neuman, 2006; Trochim, 2006).

In August 2007, the researcher convened a once-off reference group that formed a panel of five experts (1 Male; 4 Female).³ Each member of the panel was purposively selected as they had several years of experience working with, evaluating or researching NGO programmes. The panel discussed and agreed on the inclusion

² Formal approval was granted on 14th September 2006, REC REF: 353/2006.

³ Each member of the panel of experts was purposively selected as they had several years of working with, evaluating or researching NGO programmes. Individuals had varied backgrounds ranging from management, humanities and social science, to medical and health sciences. They represented various organizations including an international social and economic development consulting company; a network of non-government and community-based organizations working to reduce the impact of HIV and AIDS in the Western Cape province of South Africa; the Health Systems Research Unit of the Medical Research Council (MRC); the School of Public Health and Family Medicine (UCT); and, the Adolescent Health Research Unit (UCT).

criteria to guide purposive sampling of the multiple-case study organisations. These were that the NGO:

- Was registered in South Africa as a development NGO;
- Directly provided HIV prevention services to young people within the metropolitan area of Cape Town;
- Had a good reputation for its work in the views of the panel members;
- Had provided services to young people for several years; and,
- Had a reputation of willingness to participate in research.

The panel then purposively sampled four NGOs. This approach was taken in an attempt to minimise bias on the part of the researcher, by applying a transparent set of criteria, and giving responsibility for selection to the panel. The sampled NGOs operated at different levels; one at community level, two nationally and one in the Southern Africa region.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

All four sample organisations agreed to participate in the research. Informed consent and verbal assent was obtained from all informants, as well as signed parental/guardian consent for young people. Informants were also assured that confidentiality would be upheld; hence they are referred to by the generic label of the data-set, rather than names of organisations or individuals.

3.7 Data Collection

Multiple methods were employed in this research, with data gathered through individual interviews, group discussions and drawings. A range of informants, deemed relevant to enhancing understanding of the management practices, were sought; namely NGO directors, programme staff, young people, partner organisations and donors. The researcher ensured that information was gathered from young people as beneficiaries of the NGO interventions, as studies showed that beneficiaries are normally not included in implementation, and their opinion largely not sought in decision making in NGO management, and research studies (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004; Kareithi and Lund, forthcoming-under review-a). It also ensured triangulation, provided balance in the data collected (Thomas, Chataway and Wuyts, 1998), and generated data of relevant dimensions that would otherwise be overlooked (Chambers, 2009). **Table 5.1** shows the various sources of data, and

the link made between the research objectives and questions with the best methods identified to generate data from the chosen data sources (Mason, 2002).

Table 5.1: Management practices: Sources of data and link to research objectives and questions

Objective	Questions	Informants (data-set) and number		Method	Justification
Identify existing management practices	What management practices do the case-study NGOs practice?	NGO Directors	4	Individual interviews	Interviews with directors provided their experiences and accounts on management practices and underlying influencing factors.
		NGO Programme staff	21	Focus group interviews and drawings	Discussions with programme staff, who directly provided HIV prevention services to young people, provided their experiences and accounts on their management practices and influencing factors.
Identify underlying factors	What are the facilitating factors?	Partner organisations	4	Interviews	Interviews with partners provided their views and opinions on the NGO practices, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
	What are the constraining factors?	Donors	4	Interviews	Interviews with donors provided their accounts and additional insights on the NGO practices, ways in which they influence NGOs, and further triangulated information received from NGOs.
		Young people	39	Focus group interviews and drawings	Discussions with young people as beneficiaries provided a lucid picture on their external environment, and their experiences (if any) of participating in management practices.

The researcher developed a multiple-case study protocol with a different set of questions for each data-set. The protocol carefully documented procedures before and after data collection. The protocol was crucial as it ensured that the semi-structured individual and group interviews followed a defined procedure. In each NGO, the researcher first collected data from the NGO director and programme staff, who then purposively selected the young people, a partner organisation and a donor, from whom additional information was gathered.

The researcher utilised the ladder technique design to get respondents to relax before asking more intrusive questions (Price, 2002). This was complimented with the appreciative inquiry approach that values the best of experiences, rather than only focusing on the negative (Thatchenkery and Chowdhry, 2007). These strategies succeeded in getting interviewees to open-up and be reflective. Additionally, drawings, a task done at the start of the group interviews, were used as a methodological tool during group discussions. Drawings proved to be an effective technique that enabled participants to work as a team and formed a basis to engage

with the researcher. It also provided visuals that were referred to during the discussions. Later, the drawings facilitated analysis and enhanced presentation of findings.

Data were collected between October 2007 and September 2008 from 72 informants; see table 5.1. All dates, times and venues were agreed at the convenience of informants. The questions guides had adequate space on which notes and annotations were made. The individual interviews took between one-and-a-half to two hours, while the group discussions lasted about two-and-a-half hours. Participants of the group discussions were provided with refreshments. Interviews were all conducted in English, save one group discussion conducted mainly in isi-Xhosa by a bi-lingual colleague who accompanied the researcher.

3.8 Data Management and Analysis

The data collection process yielded 12 individual interviews, eight group discussions, and 14 drawings. All individual and group interviews were recorded and transcribed in English, and drawings photographed.

Data were subjected to thematic analysis across the cases based on the aggregated evidence (Yin, 2003). The Development NGO Management Cycle was the theoretical perspective, which provided the overall orienting lens for this study (Creswell, 2009). The main themes were established from management practices in the cycle, and sub-categories emerged from emersion in the data (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008). The qualitative software programme, Atlas.ti version 5.2 assisted with the management and analysis of the large volume of data obtained, and results were confirmed by a reputable analyst.

A seminar was convened, in September 2008, to which all informants were invited, along with some NGO academics, consultants, and practitioners. Preliminary findings were disseminated, initial interpretations verified, feedback sought and incorporated into the final analysis.

4. Results

This section presents key findings in relation to each of the practices set out in the Development NGO Management Cycle. Evidence is derived from a multiple-case study of four NGOs, though they are not identified due to confidentiality reasons. First, a brief synopsis of the NGOs is presented. Then findings on management practices are presented, starting with a brief definition of each.

4.1 Synopsis of the NGOs

Table 5.2 shows some data of the studied NGOs.

Table 5.2: NGO characteristics

NGO	Type	Office location	Geographical coverage as per the Cape Metropole health sub-districts	Service sites location	Type of services
1	Specialist	Grassy Park	Mitchell's Plain, Greater Athlone and Khayelitsha	Schools	Peer education and life skills with drama performances and public information campaigns
2	Diverse	Khayelitsha	Khayelitsha	Schools, and office hall	Peer education, public information campaigns, and community mobilisation
3	Specialist	Woodstock	Khayelitsha, Gugulethu/ Nyanga and Mitchell's Plain	Schools and community centres	Life skills and public information campaigns while engaging in basketball and soccer/football
4	Diverse	Observa-tory	Khayelitsha and many areas over the Cape Metropole	Schools and organisation al youth centre	Peer education, life skills and voluntary counselling and testing (VCT)

*Note: 'Specialist' NGOs provide services to young people, while 'diverse' NGOs reach other age groups.

The study NGOs provided life skills or peer education to young people. Two NGOs situated their offices within the same geographical location as their intervention sites. Generally, the NGOs aim to reach young people in communities of most need, as the sites of service provision focused on low-resource communities with high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence.⁴ Some NGOs, with government contracts, also reach young people in more-resourced communities and/or lower HIV prevalence areas.

⁴ See Kareithi and Flisher (2009a: 22) for summary on HIV prevalence by health sub-districts between 2001 and 2006 in the Cape Metropole, Western Cape Province, South Africa.

This was mainly attributed to the government strategy to reach all school-going learners.⁵ Interventions were mostly provided through schools, as the NGOs were in partnership with the provincial government and/or with schools. Some interventions reached out-of-school youth.

4.2 Management practices

4.2.1 Needs identification/assessment

Needs assessment is the process of identifying and understanding a problem, including who is in need, size of need and what might work to meet the need of the targeted beneficiaries (Gosling and Edwards, 2003).

The study NGOs did not undertake a formal needs assessment of the beneficiaries they directly provided services to, but relied on research done by government, universities or research institutions on the risky behaviour of young people in South Africa.

They [referring to the First National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey by the Medical Research Council (MRC)] put the high risk behaviour of young people...then through government came our implementation of peer education. (Director)

NGOs attribute their inability to undertake needs assessments to funding, need for multi-lingual staff, and inadequate capacities of staff to analyse data. Additionally, low literacy levels of beneficiaries hampered their ability to properly complete questionnaires.

There's a lot of challenges. The languages. How we translate the information written by the kids...the kids sometimes don't understand the questions and leave the space blank. (Director)

However, knowledge of the needs of the targeted beneficiaries was gathered in an informal manner. First, needs were identified by the founder of the NGO. Second, NGO programme staff identified needs through observation and interaction with young people.

⁵ In South Africa, school going children are also referred to as learners.

4.2.2 Strategic location

Strategic location refers to the deliberate effort to geographically locate NGO offices and, more so, sites of service delivery within communities most in need of a development intervention (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a; Koch, *et al.*, 2009).

As a strategy to enhance beneficiary reach, all study NGOs located their intervention sites within high HIV prevalence areas, such as Khayelitsha, or in areas with increasing HIV prevalence, such as Mitchell's Plain. As **Figure 5.4** and interview extract illustrate some NGOs also located their offices within the targeted community.



Figure 5.4: Strategic location of NGO within community (Source: Drawing by programme staff of a picture depicting their organisation)

This organisation it is rooted within Khayelitsha...if our staff members are living somewhere else, we wouldn't know the challenges. (Programme staff)

NGOs, whose offices were located elsewhere, had varied strategies to increase reach to beneficiaries. One NGO had a field office (referred to as a youth centre) in the community where its largest operations were located. Another NGO hired

programme staff living in the targeted community, who encouraged young people to consult and interact with them regularly.

4.2.3 Beneficiary participation

Beneficiary participation entails soliciting the views of targeted beneficiaries regarding a planned or ongoing intervention, and utilising the input in project design, needs assessment, implementation, monitoring, and evaluations (Morra-Imas and Rist, 2009). The purpose is to enable the realities and priorities of beneficiaries to be expressed and communicated to decision and policy makers (Chambers, 1998). This should not just involve consulting or informing, but should entail strong participation through a partnership process (Brett, 2003).

Some NGOs recognise that beneficiary participation facilitates beneficiary ownership. These NGOs have embraced beneficiary participation mainly in planning and implementation.

That is why the programme has been so successful because it included participation as early as design stage. (Director)

We make the youth part and parcel of our programme so that they almost own it. You will not change people's minds if you come with the attitude "I say so". (Director)

It seemed that beneficiary participation in implementation may largely be attributed to the peer education approach.

Obviously the programmes are run by the youth themselves. So we facilitate the programme for them really; the kids implement the programme for their peers. (Director)

However, beneficiary participation seemed not to have filtered through into other management practices. When beneficiaries were asked how they shared their ideas with the NGOs, several young people appeared somewhat confused and anxious about why the NGOs should seek their opinion. There were often long gaps of silence. Then a few participants were careful to provide a positive impression or an assumption that NGOs know what they are doing. Others confirmed weak beneficiary participation.

No, we are focusing on the lessons ... it is intense.

I think [the NGO] knows about it because everything they do is focused on young people, so that means they know.

I also think that [the NGO] facilitators were also young once, so they do understand.

Nobody asks us; if they asked us we would have told them. (Young people)

Beneficiary participation was further regarded as time consuming. Some donors recognised it was a crucial principle, but adoption was left to the NGO.

It really is up to the partner to be the champion, so to speak, of what we call child-partners... We discuss it individually with each partner, but it really is up to the partner to take that and decide what they want to do with it. Then the child participation thing will work. It depends on how much time you want to take, and how much you want to invest in that area. (Donor)

4.2.4 Strategic planning

Strategic planning entails formulating broad, clear and realistic series of actions designed to achieve a set of aims and objectives, which deal with the identified problem (Gosling and Edwards, 2003). It is a flexible tool, which gives broad directions, guides project implementation, and enables staff to make decisions and change direction based on experience while working within the broad mandate set by the organisation (Wallace, 1997).

The study NGOs undertook both short- and long-term strategic planning. Some NGOs used participatory bottom-up processes to plan, involving staff, management and then the board of directors. Others followed a top-down approach, involving only the board and NGO director. Some programme staff regarded this as prescriptive and at times resisted aspects they considered unrealistic.

They meet for many weeks, and plan for four or five years and come up with the ideas. After a month, they will come to us with those ideas and we will scrap them if we don't want them. (Programme staff)

4.2.5 Resource mobilisation

Resource mobilisation is the acquisition and control of finances (Conradie, 1999), as well as human resources, and assets such as land, office buildings, vehicles and so on to facilitate implementation of the identified intervention.

With regards to personnel, the study NGOs hired relatively young programme staff to facilitate easier relations with their young beneficiaries. Some deliberately hired individuals who had participated in a behaviour change intervention as beneficiaries; not just as facilitators.

That is why today you see not a single person is 45 years old, or 35 for that matter. (Programme staff)

100 per cent of the youth workers have been on programmes themselves...not 80, not 90, 100 per cent...they've been peer educators or on one of the [other] programmes. (Director)

Additionally, NGOs hired staff living in the same community as their beneficiaries.

What we've realised is that we don't need outsiders...get the young people in the community to work in their own community. (Director)

Regarding finances, proposal writing and fund raising was undertaken not only by the NGO director, but also by the programme staff. NGOs experienced different levels of funding. Some had secured funding for a five-year period but were cautious that factors beyond their control may adversely affect the future ability of their donors to provide funding.

At this stage our contracts would cover our work until the end of 2013...but you know how things are, those contracts are not necessarily binding on the donor. (Director)

These NGOs however indicated that restricted funding limited innovation and adequate personnel welfare development.

Since all of our funding come[s] from donors who obviously pay for very specific activities and things, it's difficult to experiment at times. And it's also difficult to take care of our staff in the way that we'd like to since our current donors don't pay for staff wellness, team building, etc. Those things are really important in the kind of environment that we're working in, to enable staff to debrief and just to forget about problems. (Director)

Some NGOs struggled to raise adequate funds. They relied on volunteers, in-kind assistance, and/or operated smaller interventions than the beneficiaries need. The inadequate funding made it impossible for the NGOs to hire skilled staff. The

situation also meant they were unable to adequately remunerate personnel, resulting in high staff turnover.

Some donors were aware of the inadequate funding channelled through the partnership programme with NGOs. They, however, reported that NGOs are required to fund-raise elsewhere.

There has to be a 50-50 relationship... Government must put in 50 per cent of the funds... Or I'm arguing we can only afford to put in 50 per cent. Now Trevor Manuel [the then Minister of Finance] will argue the exact same thing. Where do they [NGO] get the other 50 per cent from? Well they must get it from other donors. Whether it is international donors or community based donors, corner café owner, parents in the schools, peer educators themselves raising funds, and so on. (Donor)

4.2.6 Implementation

Implementation as the allocation of resources, coordination of effort and intervening in a social issue by implementing the identified intervention.

The NGOs provided a range of services including peer education, life skills and public information campaigns. The study NGOs made special effort to have innovative interventions through incorporating sports, particularly soccer/football and basket ball; performance arts such as drama, singing, and dancing; and, community service such as visits to children's homes and raising community awareness through community action teams. Young people who were interviewed said that they appreciated the intervention. They not only obtained education and skills, but also opportunities for alternative life-styles.

Some youth have a messed up life...not have positive influences...we need guidance and mentoring.

If you are not there [at the NGO programme], you are getting robbed already, or raped, or smoking drugs or doing drugs. (Young people)

Some partner organisations praised the NGOs' intervention, while others were sceptical given the overall general challenges of HIV prevention in South Africa.

One of the big legacies they provide is a better understanding of how to reach youth and how to access youth and how to speak to youth in a language that

they understand in sort of a creative methodology on fighting HIV and AIDS.
(Partner organisation)

I don't credit them for doing a good job, I don't credit anybody for doing a good job...but at the same time I recognise that it is a long process, it's not easy. (Partner organisation)

There was emerging recognition that concerted effort was required to reach a larger number of young people. However, there was ongoing contestation on who the targeted beneficiaries were.

I think there is ample evidence that the peer educators have benefited. They are not the beneficiaries; they are the agents. They have benefited even though they are the agents. (Donor)

Concerns were raised that NGOs on their own could not reach all the young people in a community. Other stakeholders also had to make an effort.

The unfortunate thing [is] they [the NGO] can only target a small group per school. It is actually the schools job after that to take that leadership and disseminate it amongst the rest of the school. (Partner organisation)

4.2.7 Influence environment

This entails influencing the external environment within which organisations operate (Thomas, 1996; Hewitt and Johnson, 1999). It can be done through inter-organisational relationships and policy influencing within one's agency or wider public (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000).

Although none of the NGOs used the terms 'influencing environment/context/landscape', they reported some practices. One partner organisation confirmed the practice of inter-organisational relationships. However, networking and sharing opportunities were sporadic and at times not well attended.

We have quarterly meetings. Participants include the NGOs. We make graphs showing the performance... The more people know the more they think. (Partner organisation)

The study NGOs also endeavoured to influence policy, but reported that it was challenging. Additionally, NGOs mainly regarded their advocacy role as influencing

government, rather than influencing the local community. In many cases influencing the environment was regarded as political, and a domain for more qualified staff.

We try everything possible to avoid any political discussions; we want to be continuing to lead in terms of innovations... We want to try to influence policies at government level, but only once we have that person [an additional staff member who can lobby and influence government]. (Director)

Some NGOs felt that influencing the environment was a deviation from their work, reflecting that this practice was not part of the intervention design. Common constraints were donor policies and restrictive funding.

The donor has no flexibility to work outside agreed terms. (Director)

A lot of the times the agendas are set by the money. So in a way the funders are very much influential in setting the agenda. (Partner organisation)

All donors seemed to confirm that this was the reality.

Most of the contracts that we sign with NGOs the goals are clear... Anything that is outside of that business plan, [the NGO] will have to find other source of funding. (Donor)

We do that with other partners whose entire programme is to influence policy, to work at the policy level... But [the NGO] isn't one of those programmes that we support in that manner. (Donor)

Some donors, upon reflection during the interview, appeared to relate to the importance of influencing the external environment.

I do think it is important for partners to prioritise and commit to influencing their surroundings, influencing their community around them... I'm really going back to that idea of how important it is to look back to the original idea of having community conversations. (Donor)

Overall, NGOs were aware of the adverse environment in which they operated in the context of HIV prevention. This was confirmed during dissemination of preliminary findings.

There's amazing resilience within organisations working in this environment. It's a special kind of person to work in such situations. They are still able to do something with the little that they have, but are constantly concerned with how to do more. (Seminar participant)

4.2.8 Monitoring

Monitoring is the systematic and continuous collecting and analysis of information on project progress over time. It is used to keep track of events, check progress towards the achievement of objectives, identify strengths and weaknesses and provide data for timely decision making for improvements (Cracknell, 2000; Gosling and Edwards, 2003). Monitoring is normally done by the staff implementing the project on the work, achievement, challenges, and the external environment.

The study NGOs endeavoured to collect data. Although some programme staff were confident in monitoring, others were not. Major constraining factors were inadequate programme staff skills levels, and their perception that monitoring was not their core activity.

I think the monitoring bit becomes very difficult... We leave it up to the facilitators on the ground to monitor. And most of them are not researchers, they are just facilitators. They love being with kids, they've got the heart, the passion, but they don't necessarily like the admin. (Programme staff-manager)

Commonly, staff maintained attendance registers as a tool to record numbers reached, by gender, and to ensure beneficiaries participated in all sessions towards completion of the programme.

We also have a monitoring tool to see how far our targets are for each school... We will know the schools; exactly how many pupils registered on our programme, weekly attendance, to who is badged [completes]. (Programme staff)

NGO directors reported increasing recognition of the knowledge generated from monitoring.

I think we are getting it...monitor not only the bad things, also the good things. (Director)

NGO programme staff also gathered information to ascertain if the training or workshop sessions were well received and understood. However, they reported that monitoring was mainly undertaken to comply with donor reporting requirements, which seemed to emphasise quantitative data.

4.2.9 Reviewing

Reviewing is the continuous reflection on data gathered to assess project progress, on any aspect based on a range of criteria, at any time, to enhance success, deliberate over challenges, and to aid appropriate decision making of the direction of future work (Gosling and Edwards, 2003). Reviewing is different from evaluation, as it is carried out by the NGO staff, while an external evaluation is done by external agents.

Reviewing was commonly conducted during NGO staff meetings. However, data gathered were primarily utilised for donor reporting, rather than internal decision making. All NGOs appeared to appreciate the interviews with the researcher as having created an opportunity for reflection.

Your questions were challenging. There was a question you ask, about do you normally meet like scrutinize or sit down check what are we doing. So I have noticed there is a necessity for that, check deep. Not actually to know you and you are doing this programme; it is good, but to look deep.
(Programme staff)

4.2.10 Reporting

Reporting entails regular preparation and dissemination of feedback to various stakeholders to give an account of their work (O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008) on project results, successes, challenges and lessons learnt.

The study NGOs reporting tasks seemed to focus on reporting activities undertaken. Many programme staff seemed uncomfortable with writing reports, and preferred to make verbal reports at daily, weekly or monthly staff meetings.

They [facilitators] have to spend a lot of time reporting - it is a bit annoying during their first attempt. (Programme staff)

The preference for verbal reporting was attributed to inadequate skills of the programme staff to document and analyse.

I have been taught in the Bantu⁶ education whereby they tell me, "Mama loves?" I used to finish up, "Daddy." "I live in" "Makaza". I do not say "I live in"

⁶ Bantu (African) Education was the inferior system during the apartheid era that aimed to direct black and non-white youth to the unskilled labour market. Adverse effects of this style of education have had long-term consequences. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bantu_Education_Act for more details.

that was for the teacher. I must finish off every sentence. The teacher would say, "2 times 1", and we say "2". We used to even have a song. [Participants chant the song.] So actually in a way that stereotyped people... because that is what they have been used to, told stuff and then just act this little bit. The teacher would say "1 plus 1 =" We are told to say "2". What have you done? Nothing! (Programme staff)

The study NGOs recognised the need to move from verbal to documented reports, and hence hired additional staff to capture data from programme staff.

It's not left in the field, we always report back... We capture our target indicators, set by the Global Fund. They [facilitators] give a feedback to the coordinator for records. (Programme staff)

However, in some NGOs this created challenges of incomplete or erratic documentation.

The study NGOs made concerted efforts to report to their donors, though it was done in a piecemeal rather than an integrated manner. Donors mainly required quantitative data. NGOs further endeavoured to meet targets agreed with donors, as failure to do so could result in revocation of funding.

We hand-in a quarterly report. [It] is mostly statistics and targets. For this prevention programme, [it's] mainly the numbers. (Programme staff)

We have an understanding in terms of the agreement that they will report...there is direct pressure on the NGO to deliver otherwise payment will stop. (Donor)

Some NGOs indicated that reports were utilised for review and management decision making. Generally, NGOs focused on upward external accountability with reporting to donors. NGOs reported they rarely disseminated their work to others, as confirmed by a partner organisation.

That's something that we traditionally haven't given any attention to...we're one of the larger NGOs in the country, yet nobody knows about us. (Director)
So [the NGO] could have been more proactive. But of course I don't know enough of what they're doing. (Partner organisation)

4.2.11 Evaluation

Evaluation is the systematic acquisition and assessment of data, with various purposes such as verifying if objectives are achieved, assessing impact of the intervention, recommending future improvements and learning lessons for future similar projects. It is usually carried out by external researchers or consultants to ensure independence (Cracknell, 2000; Gosling and Edwards, 2003).

All study NGOs reported having established partnerships with external organisations, such as research firms and universities, which undertook the external evaluations. Evaluations were mainly commissioned by donors.

We're in collaboration with [research firm]... And they've done a thorough study on our project and several of PEPfAR partners. (Programme staff)

4.2.12 Organisational learning

Organisational learning entails allocating space, time and opportunities for organisations to reflect, share and learn from experience during project implementation and information gathered from both within and outside the organisation (Taylor, 2003). Learning may be intentional and structured or informal and arise from different forms of engagement (Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Reflection is made of both internal and external environmental changes to engage in new ideas and innovative practices (Taylor, 2003), to enhance capacity and capability in the organisation (Johnson and Thomas, 2007), and to incorporate learning into future practice and policy (Gosling and Edwards, 2003).

NGOs indicated an emerging recognition of the importance of reflecting.

You cannot improve anything if you are not going to have reflection. (Director)

Some NGOs reported that reflection and sharing commonly occurred at the programme and management staff meeting. Other NGOs referred to formal training at short-course workshops, longer-term college and university education, and meetings with donors as learning opportunities. There seemed to be a focus on learning from experts.

4.2.13 Needs reformulation

Needs reformulation entails amending needs of the targeted beneficiaries based on changes in their practices and context, and based on lessons learnt during project implementation, reviewing and evaluation.

Generally, needs reformulation was not a common practice. Some NGOs undertook needs reformulation through pre- and post-implementation surveys of beneficiaries.

We often do what's called a pre-assessment with young people, where they are able to fill in survey questionnaires, just on different HIV issues that we ask them. We also do a post assessment to look at if their thinking is the same and their behaviour's the same, and what can we change in the programme. (Programme staff)

Others regarded partnerships with research institutions, and the resulting research reports, as a means to shape development of programmes and the NGO.

5. DISCUSSION

The authors found evidence, from this multiple-case study, that the most common management practices were strategic location and implementation. The NGOs located their intervention sites within reach by young people, such as in schools and community centres. All NGOs implemented interventions in an innovative, youth-friendly style, which young people appreciated.

Other common management practices were beneficiary participation (in implementation rather than decision making), planning, resource mobilisation, monitoring, reporting and external evaluations, although there were varied capacities and capabilities to undertake these practices. Strikingly, while some NGOs raise adequate funding, monitor, review and report, other NGOs struggle with these even though the panel of experts had regarded them and reputable organisations that have been providing services to young people for several years. Accountability practices seemed geared towards ensuring legitimacy, future funding and survival; a finding in line with Goddard and Assad (2006). Evidently there was skewed upward external accountability, with minimal internal accountability and downward accountability to beneficiaries (Ebrahim, 2005). Analysis revealed minimal beneficiary participation. Beneficiary participation was largely associated with particular interventions such as the peer education programme. This finding confirms Brett's

argument that effective participation is achieved when 'operationalised through institutional arrangements which maximise the accountability of agencies to users' (Brett, 2003: 1-2).

Practices that emerged as most challenging were needs assessment, influencing the external environment, reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. Generally, there seemed to be a lack of exposure, knowledge or capacity to undertake these practices. The enormous task of influencing the environment emphasises that concerted effort is required from numerous agencies, as no individual organisation has access to all resources required for development (Thomas, 1996; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). Minimal needs assessment and needs reformulation seemed to be associated with minimal monitoring, reviewing and organisational learning. Minimal organisational learning was attributed to the concentration on delivering and meeting targets of the donor-led contract work. This is similar to Fowler (1997) sentiments that NGOs have a dominant culture of action over reflecting, analysis and learning. Skewed upward external accountability seemed to have the knock-on-effect of NGOs not creating adequate space for reviewing and learning from both successes and challenges. This provides empirical evidence that rewarding success while punishing failure, through revocation of funds or additional funding conditions, tends to discourage NGOs from revealing and scrutinising mistakes, and that 'short-term accountability to funders can chill learning and innovation' (Ebrahim, 2005: 82). Whilst not denying the importance of learning from educational institutions and experts, there indeed is need for NGO staff to create more space, time and opportunities to learn from each other (Taylor, 2003; Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Finally although these results are not new, our present findings confirm that even reputable NGOs and their stakeholders seem slow to make a significant shift in their practices (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008).

5.1 Methodological strengths and limitations

This paper has made a few contributions. First, it presented a Development NGO Management Cycle, which combined principles in management of development. Second, data were sought from multiple sources, both internal and external to the organisation, including young beneficiaries and field staff. This presented a unique methodology for gathering empirical evidence on NGO management. Additionally, management practices of four NGOs were explored, rather than a single organisation, increasing the robustness of the research (Yin, 2003). Third, the study

not only explored existing and non-existing management practices, but also underlying facilitators and constraints. It thus contributes to enhancing understanding of NGO performance.

However, there were methodological limitations worthy of note. First, the research centred on four reputable NGOs. Hence no data were available to enable comparison between 'weak' or 'strong' performing NGOs. Second, as data on NGO management performance was hard to come by, NGOs were selected based on the reputation of their HIV prevention services to young people rather than on their management performance. Nonetheless, the findings were robust enough to provide crucial evidence to development managers.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study presented a modified PCM, referred to as a Development NGO Management Cycle. It then utilised its dimensions in a multiple-case study to explore the practices of four NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. Exploring underlying factors has shed a vivid picture of the context within which NGOs operate.

Perhaps the most notable point for development managers in NGOs, governments, and donor agencies to draw from this multiple-case study is the emergent pattern that the NGOs centre attention on strategic location and implementation than on other management practices. These NGOs also seem to reach their beneficiaries, mobilise some resources, and establish upward external accountability to donors. These practices could account for their reputation in the field. Although these NGOs mobilised resources, adequate funding remains a challenge. Given the size of the epidemic, there is urgent need for donors to consider increasing resources to HIV prevention. Of further importance is the general evidence that contemporary management theory has still not been fully incorporated into practice. There is continued need to build NGO capacities to understand and exercise the different management practices. NGOs, and their stakeholders, must continue working on existing good practices whilst making efforts to improve on weak ones. Finally, the results of this study could be relevant for NGOs working in other development sectors, and not just those dealing with HIV and AIDS. It is hoped that these results will be of assistance not only to NGO practitioners, but also to donor agencies,

governments and policy makers, who intentionally or unintentionally remain significant shapers of the practices of NGOs.

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Chapter 6. Understanding influences of the social and economic environment on HIV prevention: Drawings and voices of young people in Cape Town, South Africa

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to incorporate the voices of young people to explore their social and economic environment in the context of HIV prevention was fully hers. She collected the data from young people through focus group discussions and drawings, analysed the data, and wrote the paper. During field work, Prof Flisher provided the supervision. Prof Lund provided further supervision by ensuring findings were clear and the paper was written in the format required by the journal.

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Abstract

There is growing recognition that the social and economic environment influences effectiveness of HIV prevention interventions. However, relatively few studies in NGO performance management have examined the environment, particularly from the perspective of young people. Furthermore, young people are viewed as mere recipients of services, rather than people with perspectives to be heard and considered. In this study, we draw on a research project that explored management practices of four development NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa. This article reports the unique and critical opportunity to understand how young people perceive the influences of their environment. Data were collected between 2007 and 2008 through four focus group discussions, with drawing activities, from 39 young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities. Findings showed several adverse influences inhibit young people's compliance to HIV prevention messages. Key factors included negative social norms; inadequate recreational facilities; crime; chronic poverty; inadequate parent/guardian-child relationship; and inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders. The wealth of data generated indicates that young people are acutely aware of their environment, and that they can be effective participants in development management research. Evidence reiterates the need for much work to be done to create more enabling environments. Policy on the provision of HIV prevention services needs to: broaden ways of creating an enabling environment; support HIV prevention interventions to explicitly incorporate examining and influencing the environment; and advocate for concerted multiple action to fight for more enabling environments not only by young people, families, schools and NGOs, but also by the wider community including policy makers, development agencies, donors, religious organisations, media, private firms, and local, provincial and national governments. Failure to do so will perpetuate implementation of interventions within adverse environments, thereby choking efforts in South Africa to make significant milestones in HIV prevention.

Keywords

HIV prevention; influencing external environment; young people; development management; public action; South Africa

Introduction

South Africa has “emerged as ground zero for the pandemic” (Rohleder, *et al.*, 2010, pp.1) with the highest number of HIV infections in the world; approximately 5.7 million in 2009 (UNAIDS, 2008; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Republic of South Africa, 2010). The sharpest HIV incidence was among young people aged 15 to 24 years (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), approximately 192,000 new infections occur per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). Recent reports, however, show promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009).

A large volume of research has analysed and confirmed the risky behaviour of young people. The studies range from national surveys (Reddy, *et al.*, 2003; see, for example, Pettifor, *et al.*, 2004; Shisana, *et al.*, 2005; Shisana, *et al.*, 2009; Reddy, *et al.*, 2010), to provincial and local surveys such as studies in Cape Town (Flisher, *et al.*, 1993; see, for example, Flisher, *et al.*, 2003; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2005; Mash, Kareithi and Mash, 2006; Mathews, *et al.*, 2009).

From the onset of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, development Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)¹ have responded and emerged as crucial players. A recent study shows that between 1985 and 2007 the number of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town has increased, reaching 93 NGOs by 2007 (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). Services rendered range from primary prevention to early detection and patient care levels (Reddy, *et al.*, 2010).

Despite the numerous HIV prevention interventions and documented increases in adolescent knowledge on HIV and AIDS, adolescent behaviour has been slow to change (Setswe, *et al.*, 2007). In line with the “call for more draconian measures than are currently envisaged” and the need to build institutionalised and social compliance procedures and constraints (Allen and Heald, 2004: 1141), questions remain about why young people do not comply with HIV prevention messages and avoid risky behaviour. Scholars suggest that numerous factors need consideration when addressing adolescent sexuality (Szabo, 2006), and that unsafe sexual behaviour of young people is advanced not only by factors within the person and interpersonal

¹ The diversity of NGOs is not dealt with here. This article refers to NGOs involved in long-term development work. Hereafter, the term NGO is utilised as shorthand for development NGOs.

relationships, but also by environmental factors particularly poverty and social norms (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003). A recent systematic review of NGO performance highlights the need to examine the external environment within which organisations operate (Kareithi and Flisher, forthcoming-under review). There further seems to be increasing recognition that the environment within which young people live plays an influential role on the effectiveness of health education including HIV prevention interventions (Campbell, 2004; Campbell, *et al.*, 2005). However, examination of the environment is an area that has not been extensively explored.

Along with this, the perspective of targeted beneficiaries of HIV prevention interventions was rarely sought, particularly that of young people (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004). This is a serious omission, given the rhetoric of beneficiary participation and participatory development in international development literature. Several reasons have been advanced to explain why the voices of young people are not sought and effectively heard. First, young people tend to be viewed as mere recipients of services (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004), and they are generally excluded from decision making (Campbell, *et al.*, 2005; Campbell, *et al.*, 2009). Second, concerns have been raised about the ability and competence of young people to critically reflect and express themselves. Young people are considered as unreliable reporters even of their own experiences (Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth and New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People, 2009), and some researchers question the reliability, validity and generalisability of young people's research input (Dockett and Perry, 2007). Third, participatory processes with young people are regarded as time consuming, require special skills, extra passion and commitment, yet quality of the data is not guaranteed (Kareithi and Lund, forthcoming-under review-b). Furthermore, researchers raise concerns regarding ethical considerations due to the fear of violating the rights of young people, and practical issues such as access considerations.

Although there are challenges to beneficiary participation, there are a number of arguments to support it. First, Robert Chambers, a key proponent of participatory development argues that beneficiary participation generates data of relevant dimensions that would otherwise be overlooked (Chambers, 2009). Some scholars (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Kilby, 2006) state that beneficiaries know what is helpful and what is not. Furthermore, beneficiary participation forms part of

recognising local indigenous knowledge, and contributes to sustainable growth and development (Theron, 2008). Second, participation of young people in needs identification, and programme design and development, leads to greater acceptability and appropriateness (Aggleton, Chase and Rivers, 2004), as their constructive involvement is critical in the fight against HIV infection (Szabo, 2006). A recent study cautions that there is need to utilise techniques that enable young people identify their own priorities and add to understanding of their individual health and wellbeing (Gibbs, *et al.*, 2010). Third, contemporary studies across a range of disciplines have established the competence of young people in articulating their views and opinions, and their ability to report on important issues in their life experiences (Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth and New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People, 2009). Fourth, and of significance to human rights, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), Article 12, assigns to children and young people the right to freely express their views and opinions and have them considered as part of decision making about them (United Nations Human Rights, 2009). Furthermore, studies have shown that beneficiary participation is empowering; as research participants, young people are bound to learn particular ways of looking at a phenomenon during data collection (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008).

In the light of these arguments, a strong case can be made for research centred on hearing the voices of young people. In particular, there is a need to use this approach to increase our understanding of the adverse influences of the external environment on HIV prevention. This study aimed to increase empirical evidence on adverse influences in the external environment of young people in low resource, high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa; to provide the unique and critical opportunity to obtain and learn from the experiences, views, and opinions of young people; and to provide an example of how the voices of young people can be incorporated into similar research. This was done to establish how the environment influences the ability of young people to institutionalise HIV prevention messages. This study did not evaluate the HIV prevention interventions that the participating young people attended. Neither did it render judgments on the implementing NGOs. It further did not explore participants' sexual behaviour practices since several studies on this topic exist. We hope that the findings of this study will help influence policy making to explicitly and intensively create more enabling environments and to hear the voices of young people, pertinent issues often

neglected in the development and management of HIV prevention interventions and research.

Methods

Study approach and setting

This study was part of a larger research project on the development management of NGOs². Qualitative research methods were selected to facilitate a deeper understanding (Creswell, 2009) of the perspectives of young people on influences of their environment. We further chose a multiple-case design, which follows the replication logic, for more compelling and robust results than a single case study (Yin, 2003). The research explored four reputable NGOs that provide HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa. The NGOs mainly target young people in communities of most need i.e. low resource, high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities³. These communities were formerly designated for black Africans under apartheid, and often characterised by high population density, unemployment, and contact crime such as common robbery, sexual offences and murder (South African Police Services, 2010).

Purposive sampling

Young people who participated in this study took part in the NGOs' HIV prevention intervention, and were purposively identified by the NGO programme staff. Purposive sampling was utilised as data were required from informants most likely to provide responses that best help the researcher understand the research question at hand (Neuman, 2006; Creswell, 2009). Participants were selected based on their reputation of being willing to engage in discussions and openly expressing their opinions. Effort was made to ensure the participation of both boys and girls in the group discussions.

Data collection

Data were gathered over 12 months between October 2007 and September 2008 through 4 focus group discussions/interviews (FGDs). All dates, times and venues were agreed at the convenience of the participants. FGDs lasted about two-and-a-

² The detailed methodology of the larger research project is described in Kareithi and Flisher (2007; 2008) and Kareithi and Lund (forthcoming-under review-b).

³ See Kareithi and Flisher (2009a: 22) for a summary of HIV prevalence by health sub-districts between 2001 and 2006 and the average percentage over this 6-year period in the Cape Metropole, Western Cape Province, South Africa.

half hours. Participants were provided with refreshments at the end. All discussions were conducted in English, save one conducted mainly in isi-Xhosa by a bilingual colleague who accompanied the researcher.

The questions asked to participants relevant to this article were:

- What are the not so good things in your community that do not help young people with HIV prevention?
- What do you dream should be in your environment to help young people with HIV prevention?

To start off each FGD participants were requested to either draw a map of their community or a picture of things in their community which are useful or not useful in helping young people with HIV prevention. It is worth mentioning that after a pilot test conducted earlier, drawings were incorporated as a methodological tool. The task of drawing presented an opportunity for the participants to work as a team, and proved to be an effective technique that engaged participants in a fun activity. The drawings were a starting point for the researcher's discussion and engagement with young people. Once done, the young people gave feedback by talking to the researcher about their drawings and explaining what each meant. Further into the FGD, participants referred to the drawings to emphasis a point. As Creswell (2009) states, drawings proved to be creative, as they not only captured the attention and enthusiasm of participants, but also captured attention visually in data analysis and presentation. As far as possible the researcher refrained from making verbal reactions, facial expressions or other gestures that would inhibit the respondents, or encourage particular responses (Rea and Parker, 2005).

Data management and analysis

Three of the four FGDs were recorded and transcribed in English, and one was translated from isiXhosa into English. All drawings were photographed. Data were subjected to thematic analysis based on the aggregated evidence (Yin, 2003; Flick, 2009) and sub-themes identified through emersion in the data (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008). The qualitative software programme, Atlas.ti version 5.2, assisted with data management and analysis.

Ethical approval and considerations

Ethical approval for the research was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Health Sciences Faculty, University of Cape Town⁴. Further clearance was granted by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health HIV and AIDS Committee, which reviews HIV and AIDS health services research in the public sector.

To address concerns about young people participating in research, various safeguards were built into the design. First, participation was voluntary and informed consent was obtained from young people and their parents/guardians. A cover letter and parental/guardian consent forms were disseminated in advance to all identified young people. Only those who obtained duly approved consent forms participated. Second, as informed consent can contribute to the empowering of research participants (Glesne, 1999), the researcher explained the project to the young people and asked if the topic mattered to them. Their contribution to the research and how the information collected would be useful was explained. Over-and-above the written parental/guardian consent, the researcher sought verbal assent from all participants. This increased their willingness to engage in the discussions and consent to recording the sessions. Participants had the option to leave the discussion at any time, although none of them did. Participants were further requested to carefully listen to others, to respect everyone and to recognise there was no wrong or right answer, as all comments and drawings were important to the researcher. Thirdly, the researcher utilised 'youth-friendly' approaches that encouraged young people to relax and reflect. The approaches incorporated the laddered technique, designed to make respondents relax and not feel under pressure before asking more intrusive questions (Price, 2002). This was complemented with two stages of the appreciative inquiry approach; discover what is working, and dream about the ideal (Cooperrider and Whitney, 2000; Thatchenkery and Chowdhry, 2007). Finally, participants were assured of confidentiality. Therefore, throughout this paper, the names of the individuals associated with the verbatim quotations were omitted.

Results

As **Table 6.1** shows, a total of 39 (14 male and 25 female) young people (YP) between 13 and 18 years-old participated in the FGDs. Participants lived in Gugulethu/Nyanga (GN), Khayelitsha (Kh) and Mitchell's Plain (MP).

⁴ Formal approval was granted on 14th September 2006, REC REF: 353/2006.

Table 6.1: Research participants, locations and services received

FGD	Number of participants by gender (F = female; M = male)	Geographical area	Service sites location	Main type of services from NGO
1	12 (9F, 3M)	Mitchell's Plain	Schools	Peer education and life skills; community service such as visits to children's homes; public information campaigns; and annual theatre performances of drama, songs and dances.
2	12 (7F, 5M)	Khayelitsha	Schools, and office hall	Peer education; community awareness raising through Community Action Teams (CATs); and public information campaigns.
3	10 (5F, 5M)	Gugulethu/Nyanga	Schools and community centres	Life skills training during soccer/football and basketball coaching sessions; and public information campaigns during league matches.
4	5 (4F, 1M)	Khayelitsha	Schools and NGO youth centre	Peer education and life skills; and access to youth friendly services such as Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) and computer training.

All participants were school-going young people, as the study NGOs work in partnership with schools. The sites of service delivery and nature of services rendered had some variations (see **Table 6.1**), though all interventions focused on peer education and life skills training. The sessions were mainly provided after school hours, hence learners⁵ made an extra effort to participate, over and above their school work and other commitments.

Complex disenabling environment

Negative social norms

One of the most commonly identified constraints was negative social norms. In all FGDs, participants described how negative peer pressure shakes one's stand, despite knowledge about HIV and AIDS.

Your friends are pressurising you like, 'Do it!' And you think, 'I'm going to try it out because all of them are doing it'. (YP-MP)⁶

If you [are] talking to a boy and say, 'You should use a condom', they will say, 'No! Negative talk...you can't eat a sweet with a wrapper on'. (YP-Kh)

⁵ In South Africa, school going children are also referred to as learners.

⁶ Quotes are presented in this style: *The quote*. (Data set, i.e. young people (abbreviated to YP) – Health sub-district, i.e. Gugulethu/Nyanga (GN); Khayelitsha (Kh); and, Mitchell's Plain (MP) where the participants lived). In some cases, extracts of the transcripts are included to enhance illustration.

Additionally, being a virgin was considered a taboo.

They say if you don't have sex you going to be a virgin. A virgin would be a bad woman or girl who gets sick or some bad omen. (YP-GN)

Both boys and girls experienced peer pressure. Girls were reported to concede to peer pressure more easily because they were afraid of being abandoned. Boys were regarded as dangerous.

Girls can say, 'No.' But mostly they say, 'Yes you can do it'. If some say no, [the] boy [will] say, 'I don't want you'. And will leave you for another girl... If a girl says [to a boy], 'You can have sex with me', the boy will have sex. Boys are very dangerous! (YP-GN)

Boys who attempted to discourage their peers from having sex with girls were labelled and called names.

If boys want to have sex with a girl, and her boyfriend say[s] he doesn't want them to have sex with her, the boys are going to say that he's a loser. (YP-GN)

Participants reported that young people were exposed to drinking, smoking and drugs. As a result, some young people were seen by the participants as abusive, violent and appearing older than they actually were.

Figure 6.1: Drawing of effects of substance abuse



We've drawn a picture of a 17-year-old teenager, smoking in public—on the streets... his face looks very old, because of his lifestyle. (YP-Kh)

Participants further identified the media, particularly television, as a means of shaping the norms of young people. They reported the glamorisation of pornography and premarital sex.

Sometimes media show the wrong stuff, like people having premarital sex... The celebrities, they have many problems and difficulties with what they are going through. But we just try and be up to them. (YP-MP)

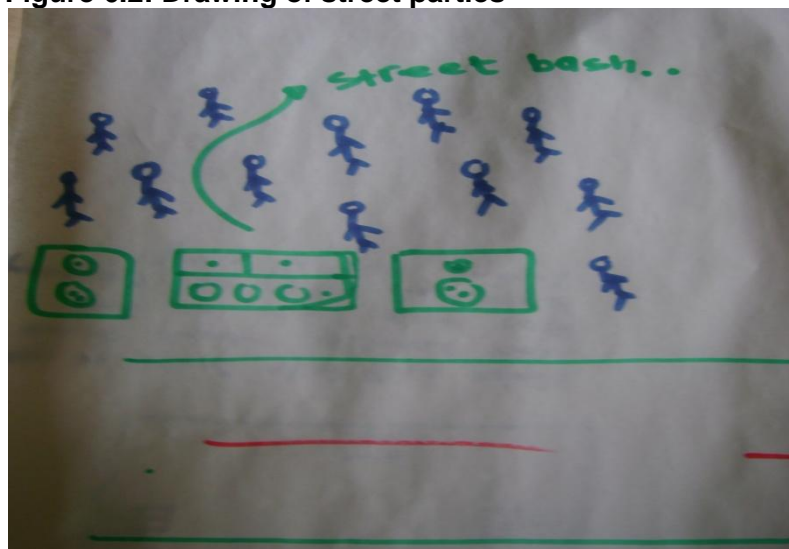
Inadequate recreational facilities

Parallel to this was inadequate access to extra-mural leisure facilities to keep young people occupied particularly after school. Young people hence engaged in activities such as sex, and alcohol and drug abuse.

Children also have sex and try new things to keep them busy. (YP-MP)

Exposure to substance abuse mainly occurred in open spaces in the community (referred to as 'yards' or 'corners'), local pubs/bars (referred to as 'shebeens' and 'taverns') and street parties (referred to as 'bashes').

Figure 6.2: Drawing of street parties



Most young people like street bashes and sometimes stuff which is not good... When you take drugs you get high, you don't know what you are doing...you end up in someone's bed, not knowing how you got there...you don't know what happened. (YP-Kh)

Young people knew where to obtain drugs (referred to as 'tik' and 'crack') and what they cost. For example, drugs were obtained at schools from fellow learners, bars, at street parties, and from drug dealers.

Shebeen, that's where the drugs is [are] and that's where they're using their time to do stuff like that. (YP-MP)

They buy it in the community... Some ZAR3 or ZAR8. Others about ZAR20⁷. (YP-GN)

Participants also reported that young people knew where drug dealers lived or operated from.

Drug dealer...they are selling the drugs. And then they [young people] go out there and come to smoke those drugs. (YP-GN)

However, there were reports that some young people were drugged without their knowledge.

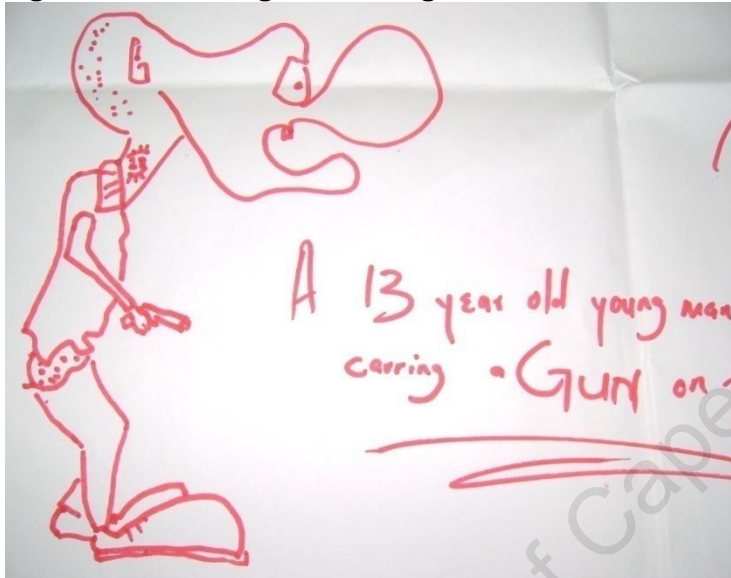
⁷ At the time of writing this article, the exchange rate was about USD1 = ZAR7.09; GBP1 = ZAR11.07.

Others buy silver bullets [drugs] and put it in your cool drink so that you want to have sex, but you don't know. (YP-GN)

Crime

Participants reported that teenagers also participated in crime.

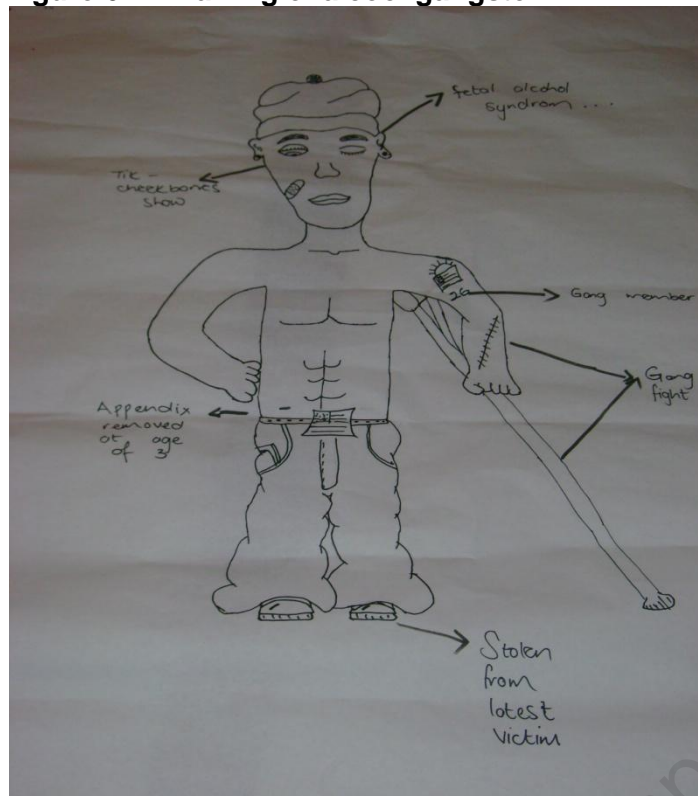
Figure 6.3: Drawing of a teenager in crime



This one 13-years-old is not shy, he is very abusive...and violent—you can see he's carrying a gun on the street. (YP-Kh)

In all FGDs, participants reported that gangsterism was common. Young people were under pressure to join gangs and adopt the 'gang culture'. A major cause of crime was violent activities by gangs, which contributed to increased insecurity in the community. Gangsterism was glamorised with gang members regarded as 'cool', although young people were aware of their engagement in violence and substance abuse.

Figure 6.4: Drawing of a cool gangster



He's wearing stolen shoes from his latest victim that he may be robbed or killed even. He belongs to gang because he has a tattoo. And he was in a gang fight so he got a bit crippled and he has got an old scar on his arm. And he is on tik [drugs] and he obviously lost weight because of that. (YP-MP)

Young people too were victims of crime, particularly gender violence. Some participants emotionally reported that they had seen one of their peers being raped on the way home from school.

Figure 6.5: Drawing of a young girl being raped



Participant: This man is raping the child and not using a condom. So this girl is going to be infected with HIV.

Researcher: And who is this here?

Participant: This is another guy.

Researcher: So there are two guys raping one girl?

Participants: Yes.

Researcher: Is this always happening in your community?

Participants: Yes!⁸⁸ (YP-GN)

Chronic poverty

Participants described many ways in which poverty has contributed to creating an environment that is not conducive to HIV prevention. Young people engaged in sexual activities for financial gain and survival. This was linked to minimal income in both adult- and child-headed households.

The problem is, in their homes there will be no money for food to eat. So now they try to make money out of it... Like a 10 year old girl sleeping with an old man for money to eat. (YP-GN)

Poverty contributed to the reason why some women engaged in prostitution. Participants reported that they often saw prostitutes seeking clients. Some young people admired the glamorous clothes prostitutes wear.

⁸ In a recent report, the South African Police Services (2010) confirmed an increase in crime, including sexual offences, against children.

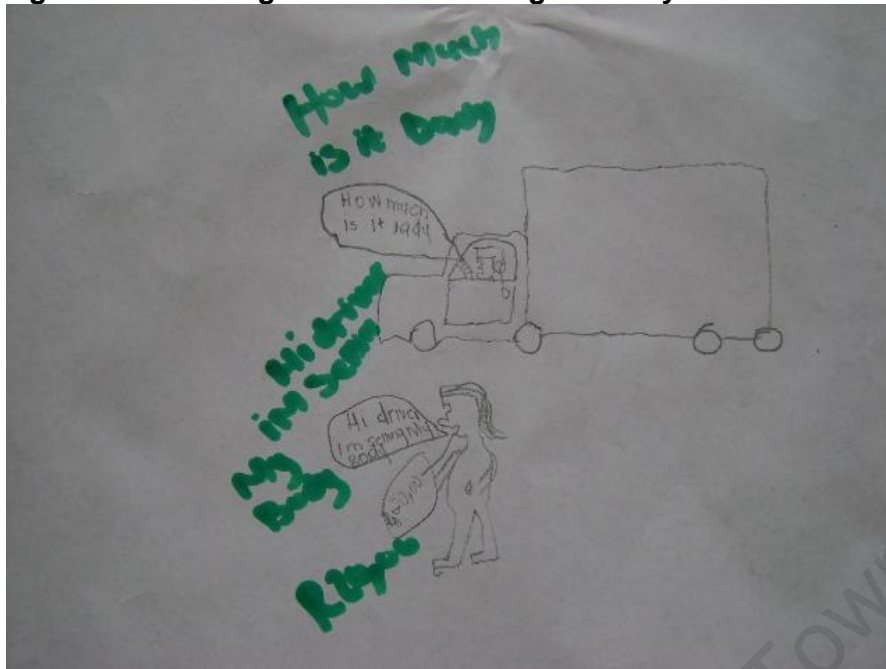
Prostitutes, they sleep with people just for the money... sometimes you see them working as prostitutes. We talk to some of them—their clothes are nice!
(YP-Kh)

Additionally, the financial gains were described as high and attractive, so some young people joined the trade. Some participants were able to detail the prostitution rates.

Prostitutes get a lot of money. A lot!... One round is ZAR500. Two rounds is ZAR500, others close to ZAR1,000. But there is a difference between a prostitute working for herself and one working for an agent. The difference is if you are working for yourself they won't give you the money that you charged. But if you are working for an agent, the agent will call you and say you have to meet this person and at this hotel. The money is not given to the prostitute directly, [it's] given to the agent because end of the month the prostitute gets. (YP-Kh)

Participants also reported seeing young ladies soliciting for sex with long-distance truck-drivers. Although this was also done for financial gain, the rates charged seemed significantly lower.

Figure 6.6: Drawing of a woman selling her body



Truck-driver: How much baby?

Woman: Hi driver. I'm selling my body. ZAR 20.00.

This young woman is selling her body for just only 20 rand to other men, so that when she's selling her body she's going to be infected with HIV because she is not using a condom. And this is not only one man that she sells her body to; there are many mens[men]. The truck-driver is going to Johannesburg then [returning to] Cape Town. (YP-GN)

Participants indicated that a major attraction for young people was the additional financial reward young women received from accompanying truck-drivers on a long-distance trip.

Participants further reported that young people too were at risk of being robbed, raped or killed for money.

Raping young people and killing and stealing, it is going on a lot. (YP-GN)

Inadequate parent/guardian–child relationships

Some participants emotionally indicated that inadequate communication and relationships with parents/guardians was a disenabling factor. Inadequate parental supervision was commonly identified leading, for example, to exposure to pornography at home.

Parents they go to sleep 12 o'clock. Before they go, they don't say that children must go to sleep first. Now the children they are watching underage things in the TV. (YP-GN)

Abusive relationships contributed to some young people leaving home, exposing themselves to increased vulnerability.

Others are being ill-treated in their families through physical punishment. Then they decide to leave home and stay on their own, and their lives change. (YP-Kh)

Participants, however, indicated that even where relationships were good, parents were unable to talk to their children about reproductive health. This was attributed to fear, mistrust and believing that children were too young for such discussions.

Our parents are afraid to talk about HIV AIDS... When you say, 'Hey mom can you explain to me about sex', she will freak out! (YP-Kh)

Some indicated that parents were generally ignorant about HIV and AIDS; others passionately disagreed.

My mother is teaching in school; LO [Life Orientation]. Why she don't talk to us; an LO teacher? My mother is young. She don't talk to us about AIDS. (YP-Kh)

Inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders

Strikingly, participants identified some practices and remarks of leaders in the community and the country as adverse influences. The widely perceived inconsistent political will of government to tackle HIV and AIDS was further described as disempowering.

The [then] Minister of Health she did something very bad with the money...our money, South Africa, come on, and she's the Minister of Health! ...And taking a shower by Zuma!⁹ (YP-MP)

Improving the enabling environment

⁹ The then Deputy-President, and current President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, reported in a court case, where he faced rape charges, that he took a shower after having unprotected sex with a woman he knew was HIV positive to protect himself from infection (Thornton, 2008).

The researcher also sought participants' opinions regarding important aspects needed in their environment to help young people with HIV prevention. Some were despondent indicating nothing could be done.

I don't think we can prevent HIV from spreading because it's increasing every day and every year... What must happen must happen! (YP-MP)

Analysis, however, showed that many consensus views emerged, amid some contentious ones as detailed below. Suggestions that emerged from the FGDs were compiled into the following themes.

Continued education with critical thinking

Participants identified the need for continued education to improve knowledge on HIV and AIDS. Young people appreciated the knowledge and skills obtained mainly from home, schools and the NGOs. In schools, provision of computers was regarded as an additional means to access information on HIV and AIDS. Participants perceived that the study NGO interventions further contributed to motivating, empowering, and building skills in positive influencing and teamwork. It further increased their self-esteem through affirming them and providing new opportunities and experiences.

When we are there, we learn something we did not know before...when we learn, we are going to teach others. (YP-GN)

Some participants questioned whether the emphasis on 'abstinence, be faithful and use condoms', referred to as ABC, was adequate. Whilst recognising the importance of these strategies, they passionately argued that more reflection and critical thinking should be encouraged.

Think about whether you want to have sex or not...it is so important for young people to reflect. But we mostly get a message of condomise. (YP-MP)

Participants also dreamed that their voices would be heard. Generally young people were regarded as mere recipients of services.

...nobody asks us; if they asked us we would have told them. (YP-Kh)

Increased access to recreational activities

In all FGDs, one of the most highly recommended factors was access to constructive recreation and leisure activities to reduce boredom. Participants appreciated the unique educational and health interventions by NGOs, which used innovative youth-

friendly approaches and provided access to extra-mural activities. These included sports activities, performing arts, and community service (see **Table 6.1**).

Participants dreamed of increased opportunities to explore, identify their talents, and use their energy.

In my dream world, we need a school with a difference...where we encourage people not only to do school work...but we also show case our talents, and we can have plain simple fun! (YP-MP)

Participants appreciated the performing arts and sports skills they obtained. They were proud to have performed in well-known theatres and competed in league matches.

If you go and play in other different province—you see this tracksuit? ...then you get a tracksuit. Like hers. This girl is playing [basketball] in other different province. (YP-GN)

Participants further dreamed of increased functional recreational facilities in their community that young people could access. These included parks, swimming pools and other sports facilities.

Figure 6.7: Drawing of community park



And here, we have the [playing] ground. The park where children can play. It is important to play sports. (YP-MP)

Shopping malls were also identified as something some participants desired to access. However, whether malls were the best place for young people to be was the subject of heated debate. No consensus was reached.

Some participants further identified activities in church and other religious organisations as a way to keep occupied. Young people would not only spend time becoming more familiar with their faith, but would also participate in other fun activities such as singing in the choir.

Other youth change by attending church and they become saved. (YP-Kh)

Increased positively influential social norms

Participants described NGO facilitators as a source of positive social norms. They called for the NGO interventions to continue.

We need this [the NGO] influence in our life at school and show us the right way. (YP-MP)

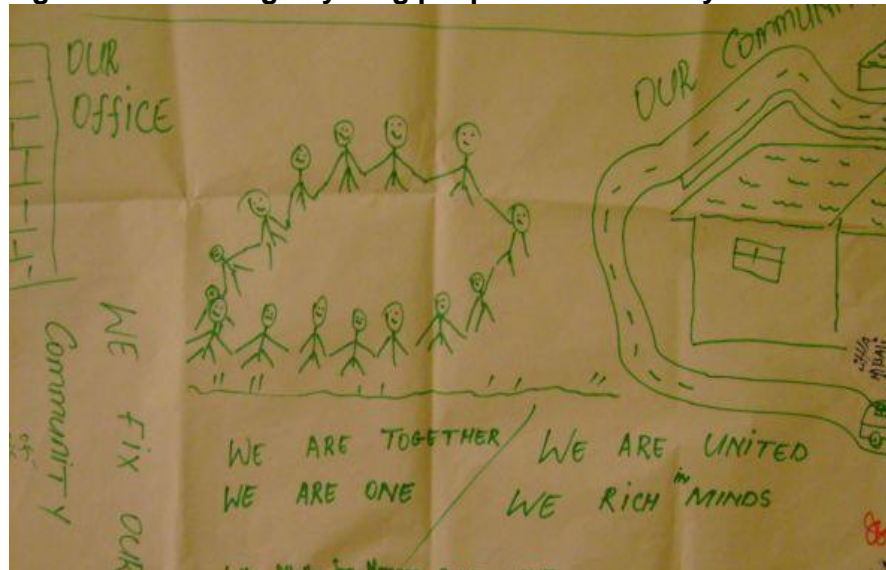
Participants perceived themselves as part of the enabling environment. They indicated that their participation in the NGO intervention made them valuable and influential members of the community.

We guide our fellow peers to make good decisions...we motivate others who are going through difficult times. (YP-MP)

It also depends on us. If I'm doing wrong things in my community, they'll see no difference. But if I'm good and I abstain, they'll also notice that something is different with me and say, 'This chap is different'. (YP-Kh)

Participants further perceived that they could link, unite and work with like-minded young people. This would not only involve peer-to-peer influencing, but also community mobilisation and awareness-raising.

Figure 6.8: Drawing of young people as community action team members



We see ourselves as being united...we work together to uplift our community.
(YP-Kh)

It further enhanced their future employability, as the NGO interventions had contributed to making them ambitious, influential professionals in the future. In turn, they dreamed of assisting other young people.

Figure 6.9: Drawing of a future professional



The debate about prostitution was contentious. Many participants called for an end to prostitution. However, others argued that prostitution was necessary, given the level of poverty in their community. The consensus reached was to reduce the visibility of prostitutes in the communities.

Stop prostitutes. Or legalise prostitution in South Africa. But if they do get legalised, they must get their own place; not be on the streets near our homes so not to influence youth because they get influenced easily. (YP-Kh)

Increased positively coherent HIV prevention messages

Participants dreamed of a critical mass of positive and coherent messages that were non-conflicting.

You know in my area, I wish I could build a big building and tell the people not to be influenced by others, but to stay focused... (YP-Kh)

They called on leaders in society to lead by example.

For example, if the pastor is corrupt, the whole church will be corrupt. If he's good, they'll also be good. So we should practise what we preach. (YP-Kh)

Participants further called on the private sector to join in creating an enabling environment. For instance, they dreamed of the business community imposing regulations that contribute to reducing young people's exposure to substance abuse, despite the potential reduction in their profit margins.

There are taverns that are safe. No drugs. No one under 23 years at shebeens. (YP-Kh)

Improved security

Participants dreamed of reduced crime, improved safety and a secure environment in their communities. A striking finding was that participation in the NGO interventions provided safety from crime; participation was an alternative engagement which seemed to prevent involvement in negative activities.

If you are not there, you are getting robbed already, or raped, or smoking drugs or doing drugs. But if you are there [at the NGO programme] you are safe, you are not going to get drunk, do drugs, you are not going to be robbed or killed or raped. (YP-GN)

Participants called for increased police surveillance in the community. They felt this should be done with community participation.

Police are working with community to make sure there are no street bashes. If there needs to be a party, they would be supervised by police. (YP-Kh)

Continued access to youth-friendly health facilities

Participants dreamed of continued access to health facilities. They identified hospitals and clinics as crucial sources of medical care and advice.

Clinics also have information about HIV and AIDS... The clinic is where to test [for] HIV and TB. (YP-Kh)

Improved parent-child relationships

Strikingly, participants passionately identified the need for improvement in the home-front, recognising the crucial role parents should play in informing and guiding young people. They dreamed of increased understanding and communication between parents and teenagers.

Parents must advise on HIV and AIDS more. Talk about it more... They say don't have sex. If raped this is what you do - then we know we must run to the clinic. (YP-Kh)

Parents mustn't be parents only, but be our friends; a person who I can share with. They must be good listeners, they mustn't jump to conclusions. They chase me away; [instead] they must listen to me. (YP-Kh)

Reduced poverty

Participants called for provision of a dining-hall at school. Apparently, the chronic poverty in the community meant that some learners did not have enough to eat. Participants recommended feeding schemes at school as a contributory means to deal with the hunger faced by many learners.

The eating room...if others don't have money they can [be] help[ed] and have lunch at school. (YP-MP)

We found that one NGO explicitly incorporates poverty relief in its HIV intervention efforts. This was a means to encourage the continued participation of young people through relieving some of the socio-economic barriers they faced.

Sometimes if you don't have clothes they [NGO] give you. (YP-GN)

Participants passionately called for increased access to gainful employment for adults in their communities. Access to alternative employment would contribute to reducing the need for and glamour of financial gains from prostitution. It would further contribute to reduced child-abuse.

I think have more jobs for the adults. Because we have adults who have no jobs and don't know what to do with their lives because they can't get active because they are old, so they just want to have sex with the younger ones.
(YP-MP)

Accessible employment opportunities would further provide young people with something to look forward to in the future.

Children also live in poverty because their parents don't have jobs. They don't know what to do, so they also think that they have nothing to look forward to. So then they also have sex and try new things to keep them busy. (YP-MP)

Discussion

The sixth Millennium Development Goal (MDG) calls for the halt of the HIV and AIDS pandemic particularly through increased effective prevention strategies. As young people bear the brunt of new HIV infections, attention on them is one strategic approach towards halting the spread of HIV (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007). The focus of this study on hearing the voices of young people has painted a vivid picture on influences of the social and economic environment within which participants live. We found evidence that young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities face several adverse influences. Key emergent factors were:

- Negative social norms;
- Inadequate recreational facilities;
- Crime;
- Chronic poverty;
- Inadequate parent/guardian–child relationship; and,
- Inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders.

Evidence suggests that the numerous disabling factors in the environment of young people contribute to adversely affecting their ability to build institutionalised compliance procedures for HIV prevention. More so, the young people's vivid awareness and detailed descriptions of the constraints they face begs urgent and concerted attention.

In addressing these constraints, participants indicated several ways in which the external environment must be improved to create a more conducive environment for primary HIV prevention among young people. Key factors that emerged were:

- Continued education with the opportunity for critical thinking;
- Increased access to recreational activities;
- Increased positively influential social norms;
- Increased positively coherent HIV prevention messages;
- Improved security;
- Continued access to youth-friendly health facilities;
- Improved parent–child relationships; and,
- Reduced chronic poverty.

These findings have several implications. First, whilst there is need for continued education to increase knowledge on HIV and AIDS and for continued access to youth-friendly health facilities, it is imperative that young people must be provided with the opportunities and skills for critical thinking, and challenged to regularly do so. Skills in critical thinking may assist young people withstand the forces of negative peer pressure. Breinbauer and Maddeleno (2005) argue that it may not be sufficient to persuade young people to change their actions through access to information and knowledge on unsafe behaviour and practices; instead, young people must be motivated to develop skills and have personal conviction of their capacity to make conscious choices about their lives. Evidence further shows that it is crucial that parents/guardians and any other concerned adults seek guidance in overcoming the feeling that HIV and AIDS should not be discussed with young people. Adults need to obtain skills to increase communication with young people, in an age-appropriate manner, regarding reproductive health. Furthermore, adults must adopt a more effective communication style, such as motivational communication which is a guiding rather than directing style (Mash, Mash and de Villiers, 2010).

Second, the finding that young people need extra-curricular and leisure activities indicates that mere delivery of educational and health interventions cannot succeed in isolation. It suggests that any HIV prevention intervention should encourage and provide the opportunities for young people to access recreational activities, whereby young people can explore and showcase their talents. Hence, a simple though striking and highly essential requirement is the need for increased access to functional recreational facilities, more-so in low resource communities. This is in

agreement with the finding of Wegner and Flisher (2009: 1, 6) who state that “leisure boredom” is “a factor contributing to risk behaviour in adolescents” as “lack of awareness of the benefits of leisure, and environments that offer limited leisure resources contribute to the perception of having nothing to do”. Our findings further suggest that continued motivation of young people to embrace safe behavioural practices and instil institutionalised compliance behaviour, must go hand-in-hand with enlarging their experiences, perspectives, dreams, aspirations and future opportunities.

Third, discussants not only called for positively influential social norms, but also for a critical mass of positively coherent HIV prevention messages both locally and nationally. It seems that whilst young people are bombarded with HIV prevention messages, many factors around them go against this communication. These factors are not only limited to individual behaviour, their families and peers, but also include practices of community members, media role models, and leaders at local and national levels. This is similar to findings by Allen and Heald (2004) who indicate that local and national-level leadership, and social compliance were crucial factors in HIV prevention.

Fourth, there is need to broaden the definition of an enabling environment. Evidence confirms the link between increased HIV incidence with poverty, boredom, unemployment, under-employment, violence, crime, and drug and alcohol abuse. This is in agreement with the findings of a review undertaken by UNICEF and the World Bank that there is a link between poverty and HIV and AIDS, and hence poverty reduction matters (Bonnell, Temin and Tempest, 2004).

One of the major objectives of South Africa’s National Strategic Plan is “to create a social environment encouraging more people to test voluntarily for HIV and, when necessary, to seek and receive medical treatment and social support” while upholding human rights (Republic of South Africa, 2010: 30). In addition to this objective, our findings reveal critical empirical evidence worthy of urgent attention by development practitioners, donors and policy makers. Results show that it is not enough to simply provide HIV prevention services to young people, and to encourage young people to work at individual institutionalised compliance behaviour. Evidence draws attention to the urgent need to improve the environment within which young people live, especially in resource constraint high HIV prevalence communities.

Social and economic policies need to address chronic poverty through targeted strategies aimed at increasing employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, providing food security, and improving safety and basic living conditions of vulnerable communities.

Furthermore, while embracing beneficiary participation by designing interventions 'for young people, with young people and by young people' has great value, this is also not enough. Parallel to these efforts, it is critically important to have up-to-date knowledge of the social and economic environment. The environment must constantly be reviewed and influenced in a bid to make it more conducive for HIV prevention among young people. In a similar vein, Campbell et al. (2007) indicate that it is essential to develop what they termed "HIV-competent" communities. Additionally, Breinbauer and Maddeleno (2005) indicate that environmental approaches should be incorporated in interventions for young people living in a complex environment facing multiple influences.

Fifth, participants perceived that an enabling environment includes positive influences from home, peers, schools, NGOs, clinics, hospitals and other health facilities, sporting facilities, churches and other religious organisations, media, and local and national leaders. This confirms that public action must come from a wide range of multiple agencies (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). It begs for integrated development, with additional radical measures, in order to build a more enabling environment. This echoes the approach by UNICEF to work with a wide range of partners and invest in children to "ensure future generations break out of the vicious cycle to poverty, violence and disease" (UNICEF, 2009: 2).

Sixth, evidence highlights that the environment within which young people live is a factor worthy of constant review in interventions on HIV prevention, and worthy of study in research from a social science perspective (Barnett, 2004b). It is high time that organisations strengthen their negotiation power and move beyond major donors' focus on changing behaviour, rather than changing context (Barnett and Parkhurst, 2005). There is need to ensure that behaviour change approaches, underpinning many campaigns, address the complex contextual factors through a developmental approach (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002). It further reveals that beneficiary participation, even by young people, is indeed a possible, practical and essential

means of understanding the external environment. This will contribute to ultimately enhancing participatory and sustainable development (Theron, 2008).

Methodological strengths and limitations

Participants in this study lived in low resource communities of Cape Town, hence generalising the findings to other areas of South Africa must be done with caution. However, the findings are likely to be relevant to other similar communities in South Africa, and possibly elsewhere in the world.

Strengths of this study are also notable. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first academic article in South Africa, in the field of development management, to explore the social and economic environment in the context of HIV prevention from the perspective of young people. The study was also unique, as it utilised an innovative approach of drawings during group discussions not only to assist young people to relax and work as a team, but also as an instrument of data collection that enriched the discussions and analysis. It is noted that while this methodology in a broader context is not unique, in the context of NGO management literature and NGO performance research, it is the first of its kind to the researcher's knowledge. Furthermore, this study provides the crucial evidence that although beneficiary participation is a difficult concept to practice, it can successfully be utilised in development management research. A wealth of data can be generated by encouraging reflection and incorporating the voices of beneficiaries; young people in this case. This is similar to other research findings that engaged with children as research participants (Dockett and Perry, 2007). However, less has been done to work with young people on research projects than with them as research subjects. This paper contributes to demonstrating ways of researching with young people. It provides evidence of how the voices of young people can be incorporated, utilising a mixed method approach, to provide deeper insight into young people's perceptions and experiences. This approach can be replicated in similar research and management of development interventions.

Conclusion

This study uniquely utilised FGDs and drawings with young people to examine influences of the external environment from the perspective of young people who live in low resource high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities.

The findings paint a lucid picture of young people's perceptions of their environment. It extends available understanding by describing the challenges young people face in institutionalising HIV prevention messages. The data confirm the importance of including the voices of beneficiaries not only in intervention design and implementation, but also in assessment. It further confirms that young people have the ability to review and critique issues. Development practitioners, evaluators and researchers are, however, cautioned to utilise youth-friendly methodologies.

What is evident from this study is that young people experience numerous negative influences in their environment. This reveals the important need for interventions to urgently address the adverse socio-economic environment, as an additional, crucial and complementary means of enhancing primary HIV prevention among young people. Positive elements in the environment such as education and health facilities, sports, drama, performing arts, and other extra-mural facilities need to be increased, be equipped and functional. Parallel to this, disabling factors such as adverse social norms, crime and poverty need increased attention. The multiple links of adverse elements to chronic poverty, leads us to suggest that a broad ranging integrated strategy is needed, with poverty eradication as a key component, if we are to meet MDG 6, and reduce HIV infection among young people. It is evident that HIV prevention can no longer be left in the hands of young people, families, schools, NGOs and religious organisations. Advocacy and work for the creation of a more conducive external environment must be taken up by numerous agencies. This should include the wider community, local, provincial and national governments, development agencies, media and private firms. Furthermore, policy makers and donors explicitly need to support the effort of development agencies to incorporate influencing the external environment into their HIV prevention interventions. Failure to do so, at local, provincial and national levels, will simply perpetuate the delivery of HIV prevention services in an adverse environment; hence choke efforts in South Africa to make significant milestones in HIV prevention.

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University of Cape Town

Chapter 7. Influencing the external environment for HIV prevention among young people: Fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water

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Description of contribution of each author

Roselyn Kareithi was the lead author of this article. The idea to examine strategies of, and constraints to, influencing the external environment within which NGOs operate was fully hers. She collected and analysed the data, and wrote the paper. Prof Flisher provided supervision during field work. Prof Lund provided further supervision by ensuring findings were clear and the paper was written in the format required by the journal.

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Abstract

The external environment of an organisation influences the desired goals of that organisation and its interventions in many ways. However, strategies for influencing the external environment to create a more enabling environment for Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are often inadequately addressed. This paper draws on an earlier larger empirical multiple-case study conducted in 2007-2008 of four NGOs that provide HIV prevention services to young people living in low-resource high HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa. In the earlier study, young people reported that the external environment hampered their ability to institutionalise HIV prevention messages. This study explores how the sampled NGOs endeavoured to influence the external environment, and the challenges they faced. The findings show that NGOs practise a combination of strategies encompassing inter-organisational relationships, influencing policy and championing by example. Key constraints to influencing practices include fear of losing legitimacy as a service provider; inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity; perceived deviation from work; inadequate funding; conflicts over values and messages; and, focusing on individual behaviour and less on context. The trends that emerged reveal a critical situation. The development management task of influencing the external environment to create a conducive environment for HIV prevention seems to be constrained mainly as (a) donors focus on funding and monitoring activities they were interested in; (b) NGO effort is restricted to programme implementation based on agreed deliverables, and influencing was mainly confined to championing by example; and hence (c) influencing efforts to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention was left mainly to young people. This gives an impression that South Africa is, in the words of one interviewee, 'fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water'.

Keywords: development management; HIV and AIDS; multiple-case study; non-governmental organisations (NGOs); public action; public sphere; South Africa; strategic arena.

Introduction

In South Africa, young people aged 15 to 24 years bear the brunt of new HIV infections (Department of Health South Africa, 2007; UNAIDS, 2008). This experience is similar to that in other countries (UNAIDS and WHO, 2009). The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) estimates that approximately 192 000 new infections occur per year among young people, of which 90% are females (Rehle, *et al.*, 2007). However, a recent report shows promising signs of a decline in new infections among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009).

The sixth Millennium Development Goal (MDG) calls for the halt of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, particularly through more effective prevention strategies. Development non-governmental organisations (NGOs)¹ have responded and emerged as crucial players from the onset of the epidemic (AIDS Foundation South Africa, 2009; AVERT, 2009; SANGONeT, 2009). A recent study shows that by 2007, 93 NGOs were providing HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Cape Metropole (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). However, while there is increased recognition of the role NGOs play, concern over NGO performance remains (see, for example, Edwards and Hulme, 1995b). Scholars argue that development managers need to be aware of the context in which they work and understand the factors that are likely to affect how they and their organisations perform (Johnson and Thomas, 2002). In the same vein, Bebbington (2005) posits that it is important to understand the environment within which NGOs operate, in order to shift the analytical burden from one of blaming to one of explaining.

The 'external environment' is defined as the arena of action of many development managers (Hewitt and Robinson, 1999). Scholars argue that "no organisation or project is simply operating within an environment; the environment is also acting within the organisation or project" (Hewitt and Robinson, 1999, p. 5). Hence, NGOs must intensify efforts to influence the external environment as it influences their performance; see chapter 2.

¹ The diversity of NGOs is a complex matter, not engaged with here. In this article, the term NGO is utilised as shorthand for development NGOs that are involved in long-term development work.

This argument seems to be particularly applicable to organisations with HIV prevention interventions for young people. Campbell, Foulis, Maimane and Sibiyi (2005) point out that the social environment influences the effectiveness of HIV prevention interventions. In a case study in KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa, they found that the effectiveness of HIV prevention was undermined by limited networking amongst various players such as NGOs, health, welfare and education representatives and local community leaders and groups. They further point out that these difficulties are entrenched by poverty, unemployment and crime, together with the exclusion of young people from local and national decision making (Campbell, *et al.*, 2005). This is similar to findings of recent study that focused on the perspective of young people; see chapter 6. The study highlighted several key adverse influences of the social and economic environment on young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa. The environment hampered the ability of young people to institutionalise HIV prevention messages through negative social norms; inadequate recreational facilities; crime; chronic poverty; inadequate parent/guardian–child relationship; and, inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders. Other studies in Africa, which examined transition to first sex, have similarly found that environmental factors play a key role (see, for example, Mathews, *et al.*, 2009; Kabiru, *et al.*, 2010; Reddy, *et al.*, 2010). These study findings point to the complexity of social change, which echoes earlier sentiments of the need to ensure that behaviour change approaches addressed complex contextual factors through a developmental approach (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002).

The concept of development management places emphasis on organisations directing effort to achieve ‘external social goals’ (Thomas, 1996), an approach that is particularly pertinent in the complex environment of HIV prevention. Development managers therefore must understand the external environment within which their organisations operate, and apply various strategies for engaging with this environment, so as to influence it in a bid to enhance performance and achieve their set development goals. In the light of these arguments, a case can be made for research that takes a broader analytical look at the external environment of development interventions, and examine the strategies of organisations to influence that environment. In this paper, we examine the external environment of four development NGOs and focus specifically on the ‘strategic arena’. According to Robinson and Thomas (2002, p. 7) the concept of ‘strategic arena’ is “a way of

thinking about the area of concern in which particular interventions are situated. A strategic arena will be defined more or less broadly in terms of geographic coverage, sectoral scope, and range of stakeholder involvement... if those involved in particular interventions take a strategic perspective it will imply considering their involvement in relation to other stakeholders' actions and other possible interventions, in other words as part of their general stance within that whole arena".

Theoretical framework

We used the theoretical concept of development management as defined by Alan Thomas (1996; 1999). Briefly, development management is a form of management with several features that distinguish it from what Thomas terms 'conventional management' (Thomas, 1996, p. 102). Conventional management focuses on getting the work done by the best means available hence meeting set goals by coordinating internal organisational resources. In contrast, development management extends effort beyond internal organisational goals towards intervening in and influencing social change processes, where there are multiple actors, and goals and interests are subject to value-based conflict. Effort of development managers must be directed to the public sphere aimed at meeting external social goals to improve the quality of people's lives (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). Development management is thus embedded in public action and includes the effort of the state, NGOs, community groups, international development organisations, aid agencies, media, and the private sector, among others.

Building on the above, development management literature identifies two broad paths towards influencing the external environment of development organisations. The first is based on the importance of inter-organisational relationships (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000, p. 4-8). The second path involves influencing policy making within one's own agency or the wider public (Thomas, Carr and Humphreys, 2001, cited in Robinson and Thomas, 2002, p. 37). The summarised definitions of various strategies are set out in **Table 7.1**.

Table 7.1: Strategies to influence the external environment

1. Inter-organisational relationships	Definitions according to Robinson <i>et al.</i> , (2000, p. 4-8)
Cooperation	Refers to working voluntarily together based on consensus, camaraderie/solidarity, community/ compromise. It brings together diverse interests to build into a whole new idea or approach. However, it frequently disguises power relations in the name of equality.
Coordination	A way to bring together disparate agencies to make their efforts more compatible (in the interest of equity, effectiveness and efficiency). However, there is power (used or abused) relationship in coordination associated with hierarchies.
Competition	Refers to competition for scarce resources, ideas, constituencies, values and definitions of needs. However, inter-dependencies between organisations can exist even when in competition with each other.
2. Influencing policy	Definitions according to Thomas, Carr and Humphreys 2001, cited in Robinson and Thomas (2002, p. 37)
Collaboration	Entails working closely with a particular target institution to try to achieve a direct change in its policies. However, it may imply accepting terms on which an issue is defined by the target institution.
Complementary activities	Projects or programmes are carried out independently of government or other decision makers. Success can oblige decision makers to change their policy to accommodate the new development.
Challenge / confrontation	Challenge (confrontation, opposition, including passive resistance) is also aimed directly at changing policies of a target institution. There need not be an actual physical confrontation, but an open challenge to the ideas and policies of the target institution.
Consciousness-raising	Involves campaigning work aimed at indirect influence over the long term through changing public opinion and norms.

Little research has been done to examine the strategies development organisations utilise to create a more conducive environment for their development interventions. Hence, there is little knowledge on the influencing strategies of development organisations, particularly in the context of HIV prevention. In this regard, this research sets out to analyse the strategic arena of HIV prevention among young people living in low resource communities in Cape Town, South Africa. Our objectives were to identify how NGOs influence the external environment in a bid to create a more enabling environment for HIV prevention among young people; to identify the underlying constraining factors to these influencing strategies; and, to make recommendations that can inform policy making on primary HIV prevention among young people.

Methods

This study was part of a larger research project on the development management of NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town; see chapter 5.. It explored how four NGOs endeavoured to influence the external environment in a bid to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young

people. The NGOs focused attention mainly on young people living in Gugulethu/Nyanga, Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain, which are communities of most need, i.e., low resource, high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence areas in Cape Town, South Africa (Kareithi and Flisher, 2009a). These communities were formerly designated for black Africans including so-called "coloureds" under apartheid. They are often characterised by high population density, unemployment, and contact crime such as common robbery, sexual offences and murder (South African Police Services, 2010).

The qualitative multiple-case study design was chosen as it facilitates deeper understanding than a large sample survey (Creswell, 2009), and provides more compelling and robust results than a single case study (Yin, 2003). The four NGOs were purposively sampled by a panel of experts. Each member of the panel of experts was purposively selected as they had several years of working with, evaluating or researching NGO programmes. Individuals had varied backgrounds ranging from management, humanities and social science, to medical and health sciences. They represented various organisations including the Adolescent Health Research Unit of the University of Cape Town (UCT); Health Systems Research Unit of the Medical Research Council (MRC); Networking HIV/AIDS Community of South Africa (NACOSA), which is a network of non-government and community-based organisations working to reduce the impact of HIV and AIDS in the Western Cape province, South Africa; the School of Public Health and Family Medicine of the UCT; and Southern Hemisphere, an international social and economic development consulting company. The sampled NGOs operated at different levels; one at community level, two nationally and one in the Southern Africa region. With each case, data were gathered from multiple sources, internal and external to the NGOs, namely: the NGO director; programme staff; a group of young people who participated in the NGO programme; a partner organisation; and, a donor.

The researcher developed a multiple-case study protocol with a different set of questions for each data set. Data were initially gathered from the NGO director and programme staff, who then purposively selected young people (both male and female), a partner organisation and a donor, from whom additional information was sought. Data were collected between October 2007 and September 2008. Individual

interviews were held with NGO directors, partner organisations and donors, while group discussions/interviews, with drawing activities, were held with programme staff and young people. Interviews were all conducted in English, save one group interview conducted mainly in isi-Xhosa by a bilingual colleague who accompanied the researcher. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in English, and drawings photographed. The group interview conducted in isi-Xhosa was translated and transcribed in English.

Data were thematically analysed across the cases based on the aggregated evidence (Yin, 2003), and sub-categories emerged from emersion in the data (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2008). Analysis started with the main themes as defined in the conceptual framework of influencing, presented in Table 1. Additionally, new concepts were added to the framework as the analysis proceeded, through applying the inductive process of discourse analysis (Creswell, 2009). Atlas.ti version 5.2, a qualitative software programme, assisted with the management and analysis of the large volume of complex data obtained. A seminar was convened in September 2008 to which all informants were invited, along with some NGO academics, consultants, and practitioners. Preliminary findings were disseminated, initial interpretations verified and feedback sought.

The research design led to a collection of a large volume of qualitative triangulated data. The partner organisation and the donor data-set particularly emerged as a heterogeneous group. Partner organisations were a school, a clinic of the City of Cape Town, an NGO and a community group. Donors were provincial government departments, a national and international NGO, and an international aid agency. These diverse organisations represent diverse interests. For instance, a recent review of the literature highlights the diverse interest of donors; see chapter 2. International aid agencies, and development organisations that channel foreign aid, are largely driven by the agenda and priorities of granting foreign governments. National and provincial government departments seem largely driven by the local political interests prevailing at a certain point in time, which centre on politicians gaining massive approval from the populace.

Ethical approval for the research project was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Health Sciences Faculty, University of Cape Town². Further clearance was granted by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Health HIV and AIDS Committee. All young people who participated in the research obtained duly approved parental/guardian consent in advance. Additionally, before each individual or group interview, verbal assent was obtained from all informants. Informants were assured of confidentiality, and that all personal identifying information would be removed from the data. Hence reference to them is only made by their data-set.

Findings

A number of diverse strategies for influencing the external environment were identified. First, those relating to inter-organisational relationships and influencing policy are presented. Thereafter, additional emergent strategies are presented.

Inter-organisational relationships

Cooperation

Cooperation emerged as the most preferred means of influencing. The multiple-case study NGOs formed partnerships with various organisations including other NGOs, schools, community groups, clinics, local and provincial government, and national and international development and aid agencies.

² Formal approval was granted on 14th September 2006, REC REF: 353/2006.

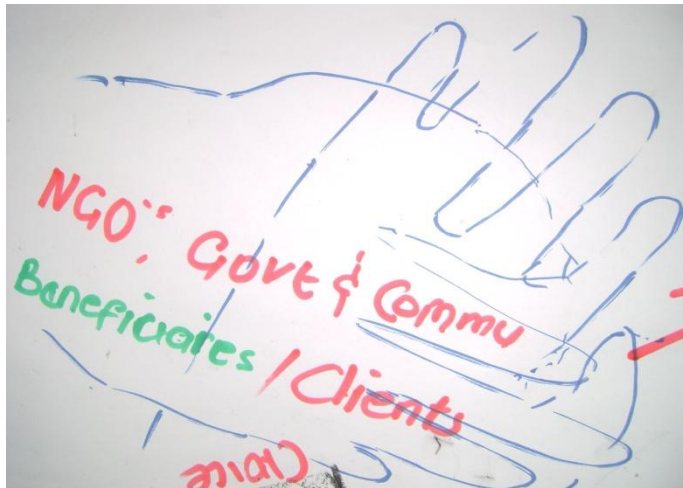


Figure 7.1: Drawing depicting NGO working with others

Here we have two hands...[one] hand represents [the NGO]...so [the NGO] is working together with other organisations, government and community at large. (Programme staff)³

In particular, the multiple-case study NGOs worked closely with schools and community centres, which served as programme delivery sites. This improved the ability of beneficiaries, i.e., young people, to access services.

NGOs reported that they cooperated with others to share and learn from them. Additionally, cooperation served as a survival tool, and means to increase reach and maximise potential impact on beneficiaries.

I don't want to reinvent the wheel...I don't believe in working in isolation. No way! You do get organisations that want to do things on their own that is why they don't survive. ...If you want your project to reach the maximum people then you need to start sharing with other people. Even if people run away with your concept that is also fine! It is for the benefit of the people. (Director)

³ Quotes are presented in this style:
'The quote.' (Data set)

The study NGOs further embraced cooperation as a means to solicit knowledge, skills and expertise they lacked in their organisation, and to complement their work.

We are not the expert when it comes to gender violence... To ensure our programmes or concepts have a positive influence on our youth, we are bringing in these organisations, to give us guidelines. (Director)

Cooperation was reported to occur based on the geographical area of operation. Others cooperated based on the approach utilised, such as developmental work through sports.

To take a step back and have the meetings you need to have and share best practices and learn from each other takes time, but it is more often than not worthwhile. What we have done recently is set up a forum in Cape Town where all the different organisations working in development through sport get together and meet regularly. (Partner organisation)

The study NGO staff perceived that the inclusion of high level government officials was advantageous, kept the initiative going, and provided a forum to address pertinent issues.

Another forum that worked well and is still working well is called the District Management Team...[which includes] the Director of HIV and AIDS for the Western Cape with the Department of Health. And I think having such a high level person involved on a grassroots level does make a difference. (Programme staff)

NGOs reported that cooperation with development and aid agencies was a means to secure more and regular funding. Others reported that their funding seemed to go a longer way in reaching more beneficiaries, as organisations pooled resources together towards a common public end.

It helped for organisations to run campaigns together. It helped resource mobilisation, where you didn't have to spend R5 000⁴ on an event, because you could bring maybe 2 000...[yet] reach a considerable amount of people.
(Programme staff)

Interestingly, community groups cooperated with NGOs, as a means of accessing funding for their initiatives.

As a new organisation, the Department [of Health] would not give me a job [tender]... Hence my partnership with [the NGO]. (Partner organisation)

Coordination

All the study NGOs endeavoured to play a coordinating role. For instance, they brought together school heads, teachers, parents, young people and their programme staff to work together in guiding, mentoring and influencing young people. NGOs further endeavoured to develop a 'young people centred approach'. They focused on surrounding young people with positive influences to guide them in building institutionalised compliance behaviour.

It's a triangle...and the kids need to be in-between. So when the school finished with them, they push them to us. We do activities and when we finish with them we push them to the parent, and the parent in the morning push them to the school...we want them to have an 'inner police' and we believe that this triangle with the child in the centre is important. (Director)

The study NGOs further reported that they coordinated forums and workshops with different partners, including corporate and academic institutions. The central purpose was to coordinate various efforts towards jointly enhancing the NGO's work while bringing in each partner's unique expertise and added value. For instance, corporates shared their skills in marketing and awareness-raising, while universities made contributions on monitoring and evaluation.

⁴ At the time of writing this article, the exchange rate was about 1USD = ZAR7.07; 1GBP = ZAR11.13.

Donors also played a coordinating role. For instance, government departments coordinated implementing NGOs, and organised regular meetings, which had a double function: a means by which government monitored their service providers; and, a means through which NGOs learnt from government and each other, enhancing their ability to be learning organisations. NGOs further appreciated better understanding of the crucial role they individually played towards the whole.

One concern by the Department of Health was that we were distributing among all of us about 500 000 condoms a month. And then it decreased. Why? So we could address it in that forum... At [the NGO] for example, the guy who ran the programme is no longer there, so he couldn't. So we really saw in one example how if one person goes then the whole structure falls down. (Programme staff)

The study NGOs reported that they appreciated participating in such forums, particularly where government officials actively and effectively participated, and NGOs felt that they were not alone.

I think if government is more accessible in the community, if they are involved in the community, it does make civil society and NGOs feel like we're not working alone. (Programme staff)

Furthermore, organisations were re-energised as they viewed the wider scenario and addressed a common course. Synergy seemed to emerge from sharing successes, challenges, and identifying common areas of improvement.

Competition

Some NGOs opted not to go into partnership with the provincial government; they sought local and international funding instead. Others put in a bid for a government contract, but were not selected as implementing agents. These NGOs ended up being regarded as the competition, as they seemed to provide a slightly different

programme than government implementing NGOs. Further, competition seemed to arise from NGOs guarding their programmes, in fear of their being 'stolen' by others.

Organisations, I think, by their nature are territorial and they are reluctant to share what they are doing with other organisations that are working in the same field. (Donor)

Competition also seemed to emerge even among NGOs that worked with government. This was at times regarded as detrimental or an inappropriate misdirection of energy.

I'm struggling with the NGOs' want to retain their identity, and their reach and their flavour. I am saying, "This problem is big". Unfortunately our response up to now has been a few steps behind the actual crisis. (Donor)

Donors also seemed to be a major reason for competition among NGOs, mainly brought about by competition for scarce resources. This seemed to be increasing as governments and international aid agencies intensified the practice of competitive bidding for their funding.

Government puts out a call for proposals from service providers... You have to convince us that you have a good idea and that it will deliver. (Donor)

Some NGOs reported that 'negative competition' adversely affected efforts towards HIV prevention. This was mainly attributed to the inadequate synergy and low quality of services provided by some organisations.

There's a lot of NGOs in Khayelitsha, a lot...we ask ourselves the question why is the HIV infection not dropping in Khayelitsha? ...I think it's a lot of competition and negative competition. There's not a lot of synergy and collaboration and integration. And also there's a lot of poor service delivery...a lot of NGOs in Khayelitsha, its necessary. But I think we need to really look at where we're working and how we're working. (Programme staff)

Influencing policy

Collaboration

Through partnership with government, two NGOs have the opportunity to endeavour to influence government policy, though they found it a challenge.

We've been working and influencing people at national level... The strategy that we find difficult is advocacy... (Director)

Complementary activities

Two NGOs that did not get government funding, endeavoured to influence policy on interventions for young people by designing an alternative innovative approach. They seemed to have succeeded in designing an approach slightly different from the one endorsed by government.

One of the big legacies they provide is a better understanding of how to reach youth and how to access youth and how to speak to youth in a language that they understand in sort of a creative methodology on fighting HIV and AIDS.
(Partner organisation)

Interestingly, these NGOs reported that they tried to avoid anything that would be branded as political.

We try everything possible to avoid any political discussions...we want to be continuing to lead in terms of innovations... (Director)

Challenge/confrontation

Three NGOs reported that they preferred not to directly challenge or confront policy makers, but did this through an NGO umbrella organisation. The study NGOs further reported the need to confront the local community and government leaders, for they considered South African leaders as key influential agents that should explicitly and actively participate in exposing practices that perpetuate the spread of HIV. However,

there was caution that the utterances and practices of some leaders contributed to sending conflicting messages.

People still believe in their cultural norms...sleeping with virgins will get them cured... We need people in high places to expose this. And this is why Thabo Mbeki [the then President of SA], the leadership of this country, they must have a more rigorous campaign to expose... How can we have it when someone takes a shower? (Programme staff)

The reference to 'taking a shower' is related to an incident in which the then Deputy-President, and current President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, reported in a court case (where he faced rape charges of which he was cleared) that he knew the woman he had sexual intercourse with was HIV-positive but chose not to use a condom; instead he took a shower to protect himself from infection (Campbell and Gibbs, 2008; Thornton, 2008).

Consciousness-raising

Two NGOs perceived that they had influenced some government policy through awareness-raising, for example raising recognition of the importance of developing young people.

So my emphasis was much more really on how do I assist people in strategic thinking and positions to have a different attitude towards youth development? ...Many people are now talking about youth development. (Director)

There also seemed to be emerging signs of success in influencing government to agree to integrate recreational activities into HIV prevention interventions.

We have moved beyond the formal taught curriculum. It is fairly broad in terms of its definition so it includes the cross curricula, the extra curricula, extra mural. And we are saying that there are ways of getting the message of HIV and healthy lifestyle across through playing rugby or singing in the choir. (Donor)

At a local community level, three NGOs reported that they conducted public information awareness campaign activities to influence public opinion and norms. There was also increasing effort to intensify community participation and ownership towards changing norms and values.

This complex social problem around HIV does not belong to us as an organisation. It belongs to the community, and so we try to get it back to them to solve; we really just facilitate the process...it's a methodology to engage with the community in a conversational manner. (Director)

Champion by example

In addition to the ways of influencing through inter-organisational relationships and influencing policy, data analysis identified another means through which the NGOs influenced the external environment. This we termed 'champion by example'. Championing was done through various ways.

First, the study NGOs endeavoured to train a large number of young people as possible. As the HIV prevention messages are largely value-based, NGOs also trained a selected group of young people who were skilled and encouraged to positively influence their peers. Young people reported that they were passionate about the skills they obtained to influence their peers and the community at large. They further reported the need to continue influencing, to create a critical mass of positive, coherent and non-conflicting messages.

You know in my area, I wish I could build a big building and tell the people not to be influenced by others, but to stay focused and not to be careless about their lives, they must love themselves and not listen to what friends say. (Young people)

Additionally, NGOs endeavoured to scale up and reach more young people by increasing the numbers attending their programmes at the existing sites of service

delivery, and setting up additional service sites. Despite these scaling-up approaches, there was still need to reach more young people.

I'm not sure that they have influenced the landscape broadly... I do think if we are to make any kind of change with young people in South Africa, we have to look at scale...reaching maximum coverage. (Donor)

Second, the study NGOs endeavoured to influence through examples set by individual members of staff, particularly those who directly interacted with young people. Staff endeavoured to be role models and set positive examples to young people, their colleagues, and counterparts in other organisations.

Even me, as much as I am teaching them, I am being influenced. I am a good smoker, a good drinker, but 'ish', when I see that kid, I can't smoke. (Programme staff)

This seemed to have a multiplier-effect as some young people were happy to volunteer in the NGOs after they completed high school.

If they are not working, they come to [the NGO] to volunteer because they want to give back what they got. They want to give it back to the younger children, because they were also that age when they met [the NGO]. (Donor)

Third, the study NGOs encouraged and equipped their programme staff to be able to keep young people active even outside of school, reducing participation in risky behaviour.

In a way it's a movement...we get the kids to be kids and work with kids on a daily basis...each [programme field staff] have to have equipment at his house because they getting the door knocked on the weekends at 7:00, 8:00 in the morning for the balls to go and play. (Director)

Fourth, the study NGOs were examples to policy makers and donors through developing 'youth-friendly' innovative approaches. As detailed above, this was mainly

achieved through incorporating fun activities, such as sports, performing arts and community service into their HIV prevention programmes.

Constraints to influencing

This study found that NGOs experienced several constraints to efforts to influence the external environment. These seemed to give an impression that South Africa has not yet done enough regarding HIV prevention. One partner organisation lamented:

We all feel that with HIV we are trying to fight a forest fire with teaspoons of water. (Partner organisation)

The key emergent constraining factors are detailed below.

Fear of losing legitimacy as a service provider

There seemed to be an awareness that NGOs have been on the forefront of addressing HIV and AIDS.

From the word go, a lot of work has been done by civil society structures. I think it is particularly relevant when it comes to the issue of prevention, because Department of Health is not well placed to sort of reach the kinds of audiences that needs to be reached...NGOs become critical if we are going to be able to attain the kinds of results that we would like to attain or at least halt the spread of this epidemic. (Donor)

However, influencing activities, particularly influencing policy making, was perceived as “political.” NGOs reported a general fear of potential adverse repercussions from engaging with anything that had a political connotation. This fear seemed to resound in many of the NGOs, and not just those receiving funding from government.

We try everything possible to avoid any political discussions. (Director)

In cases where this stand was that of the founding director, it resonated to the rest of the NGO over years.

That's been a sensitive issue...there was an original sensitivity in [the NGO] around advocacy. Particularly from the previous CEO, who did not want to get involved in politics...that was always a 'no-go' area...he still didn't want to get involved in any advocacy or policy work...we don't have an explicit strategy or focus on advocacy or policy issues. (Director)

The study NGOs further reported that they were afraid of 'falling from grace to grass' and being excluded from the 'inner circle'. Hence, NGOs tended to be cautious about influencing their external environment.

Inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity

NGOs acknowledged that influencing the environment required knowledge and skills to be able to examine the wider public arena in which they operated. However, these were reported as lacking in organisations.

Lack of skills. One of the things I have picked up...they [staff] don't have skills in advocating and lobbying. (Director)

Influencing was further viewed as a domain for more qualified staff.

We want to be continuing to lead in terms of innovations. So once we have in place a curriculum manager, we want to try to influence policies at government level. (Director)

It was further reported that at times government seemed sceptical about the role of NGOs; hence NGOs had inadequate space to operate, let alone to be influential.

NGOs are no longer what they were pre-1994 [independence]... NGOs [are now reputed to] subvert government policy because of donors... There is not a lot of government support for NGOs...but the truth is that these

organisations are doing what we are unable to do but we don't support them in doing what we should be doing. In fact we criticise them, we try to create policies to try and keep them out of our schools or to control them in ways which kill the creativity they have, the ability that they have to innovate.
(Donor)

Some programme staff felt that government was better placed to steer and coordinate public action on HIV prevention, and reported that they appreciated participating in forums coordinated by the provincial government. Unfortunately, the momentum seemed not to have been maintained, attributed largely to a change in government officials. This resulted in a lack of opportunity to influence.

The Department of Health, they have tried. They started this forum...it really helped when it started, but it just fizzled out...there was a change in management...[they] need to get someone who's passionate about networking to really drive it. (Programme staff)

However, an international aid agency felt that NGOs missed available opportunities to participate in influencing activities.

I think [the NGO] needs to be part of the national discussion, the HIV prevention discussion for South Africa. They need to participate more fully and openly...There are forums already... NGOs who want to participate don't need a donor to tell you to participate. (Donor)

Perceived deviation from work

The study NGOs regarded influencing activities as deviations from their work. This reflected that influencing was not explicitly embedded into programme implementation and monitoring practices.

It is tough unfortunately because you are always finding yourself buried in the day to day work you have to do. (Partner organisation)

NGOs confirmed the tendency to focus on delivery based on documented contractual agreements with donors. It seemed that more emphasis was laid on service delivery for survival, not just for the organisation but also for employees.

NGOs live from day to day. Focus on how we can survive, than thinking beyond how we can change the world. (Director)

It was further reported that a great deal of time and energy was devoted to motivating and strategising for organisations to attend and actively participate in the forums.

It takes a very long time for one to set those meetings and we've had to use lots of tricks...beginning of the year we book all the meetings until the end of the year...we make it very clear what those meetings are...everybody has got to be represented. (Partner organisation)

Inadequate funding

NGOs continually faced financial constraints, hence endeavoured to meet their targets and earn a good reputation among their donors. This was crucial to NGOs as it seemed to attract additional funding from other sources. However, secured funding seemed inadequate compared to the need and was inadequate to sufficiently deliver the designed programmes.

[The NGO] are a perfect example of operating on a shoe-string budget, and they work with such low resources and yet try and have a massive scale in terms of who they reach. (Partner organisation)

Additionally, NGOs with innovative approaches seemed to struggle to get funding particularly from government and international aid agencies.

So a funder will tell us, "The [donor] doesn't have money for that". And so that's the tragedy and the shame, it's that the best practices are always going to be at the mercy of who decides where the funding goes. (Director)

Strikingly, government particularly seemed to fund a more 'traditional' approach than what young people desired. Young people reported appreciation of programmes which incorporated recreational activities such as performing arts, sports or community service. They desired increased opportunities to focus on exploring their talents and utilising their energy.

In my dream world, we need a school with a difference...where we encourage people not only to do school work...but we also show case our talents, and we can have plain simple fun! (Young people)

However, government departments seemed not to fund such interventions.

When we started...we put the word out via a number of different networks... We had many organisations that responded and we learnt pretty soon that...organisations that were for instance using dance or music...sports even - as a vehicle for influencing youth around their sexual and health behaviours, that many of those things...weren't holistic peer education per se. So we got rid of those organisations. We excluded them from the next phase. (Donor)

Furthermore, NGOs were aware of the competitive funding and accountability context within which they operated. Hence they were cautious about deviating from contractual agreements. Some government officials confirmed the perception that their funding was inadequate to meet deliverables in the contractual agreement.

We can only afford x number of schools...[and] about ZAR60 000 a school, when we know the cost should be about ZAR120 000 a school. (Donor)

However, government emphasised the need to hold NGOs to strict accountability based on agreed goals and activities in the contractual agreement. This was done to protect their interests and tax-payers' money.

As funders, donors, we have to be careful that we are not sponsoring something that has very little to do with our own interests...we have to be very clear that the funds they receive from us are specifically for that purpose. (Donor)

Further funding constraints were attributed to HIV prevention not being the core business of some government departments.

So we expect more of [the NGO] than we are actually paying...if it were tendered would probably cost us four or five times more, which we can't afford because our very own department says, "We don't see the real value of why you are doing this". ...it is not seen as core business; that is part of the problem. (Donor)

Hence inadequate funding was allocated to HIV prevention.

We have a department that says, "Well you get a conditional grant...you don't need any more money from us thank you very much". So our total investment... per child is R13.80 for the year, to ensure that they never become HIV positive...would amount to about R150 over their 12 years of schooling... It's not good enough. That's hopelessly inadequate, but nobody is saying anything about it. (Donor)

Additionally, influencing seemed not to be a component funded by donors, whether government or development and international aid agencies. Hence, engaging in influencing activities implied a potential drain of the scarce resources required for service delivery.

We do that with other partners whose entire programme is to influence policy, to work at the policy level... But [the NGO] isn't one of those programmes that we support in that manner. (Donor)

Conflicts over values and messages

All informants reported that influencing, in the context of HIV prevention, was value based and there was need to stand by one's values.

We actually promote a values-based message...and that is why education is such an important vaccine really. (Donor)

Making a difference is a challenge because you need to change yourself first. We have let go of many things. We are missing parties, we are missing nice time. Friends are in the tavern [bar]. They are breaking up their backbones! I feel like I would love to be there, but what if I am there and my kids see me and still I am saying, "Self-awareness, don't go to those places you are going to get hurt". Am I practicing what I am teaching? (Programme staff)

However, it was reported that there were numerous sources of conflicting messages; for instance from some peers, NGO workers, local and national leaders. These conflicting messages made the sending out of coherent HIV prevention messages even more complex.

Another challenge is not practicing what you preach... Other facilitators from other organisations, I won't mention, they do take advantage of the kids. (Programme staff)

Really if South Africa is going to get HIV prevention information embedded in young people's minds, then they have to do it in a way that is national, which is why scale is so important, because everybody needs to hear the same message, that it is packaged in the same way so that you don't end up with different interpretations. ...Right now we don't have a commonality that we can all buy into... There's too many messages and there's so many different messages for different kinds of people that the ordinary person doesn't know which message is for them. (Donor)

Focusing on individual behaviour and less on context

Given the size of the epidemic, there was expressed need to accommodate alternative approaches, particularly through collective action.

A proper comprehensive response to the HIV problem would require a collective effort from everybody; not just government...This problem is big.

Unfortunately our response up to now has been a few steps behind the actual crisis. (Donor)

However, a tendency to leave HIV prevention in the hands of young people emerged. It seemed that influencing the broader social and economic factors that fuel the spread of the epidemic were ignored. Instead, greater emphasis was on individual behaviour, particularly young people adhering to HIV prevention messages.

...put that responsibility in the hands of those young people you are trying to reach. (Donor)

At the implementation level, it was reported that the NGOs largely focused on a selected group of learners and peer educators. Unfortunately, schools did not adequately facilitate a 'trickle-down effect' of the messages to other learners.

The unfortunate thing is that because of money constraints and availability of facilitators, [the NGO] can only target a small group per school. It is actually the school's job after that to take that leadership and disseminate it amongst the rest of the schools. (Partner organisation)

Discussion

The findings of this study have provided a clear picture of the influencing practices of four HIV prevention NGOs in Cape Town, South Africa. We found evidence that the study NGOs generally were not explicitly familiar with the development management strategy of influencing the external environment. Nonetheless, in reality they practised various influencing strategies in varied degrees, with a tendency to combine a variety of different strategies to achieve their development goals. Overall, the most preferred strategy was cooperation, coordination and championing by example, whilst open challenge/confrontation and competition seemed to be the least preferred. Evidence also shows that some NGOs seemed to have unintentionally engaged in influencing activities. For instance, two NGOs opted to maintain their independence and have no direct input into influencing. This was mainly attributed to

the fear of being considered subversive or activities being regarded as a deviation from contractual agreements. However, these NGOs seemed to have successfully engaged in unavoidable confrontation of ideas and practices. Policies of government and decision makers seem to be shifting as they appeared, for example, to recognise the importance of recreational activities and being more tolerant towards programmes that incorporated sports, performing arts and community service.

Evidence further suggests that NGOs faced various constraints to influencing their external environment. Principal factors that emerged were:

- Fear of losing legitimacy as a service provider;
- Inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity;
- Perceived deviation from work;
- Inadequate funding;
- Conflicts related to values and messages; and,
- Focusing on individual behaviour and less on context.

A number of trends were evident in this exploration of influencing practices that reveal a critical situation. A few are discussed below and summarised diagrammatically in **Figure 7.2**.

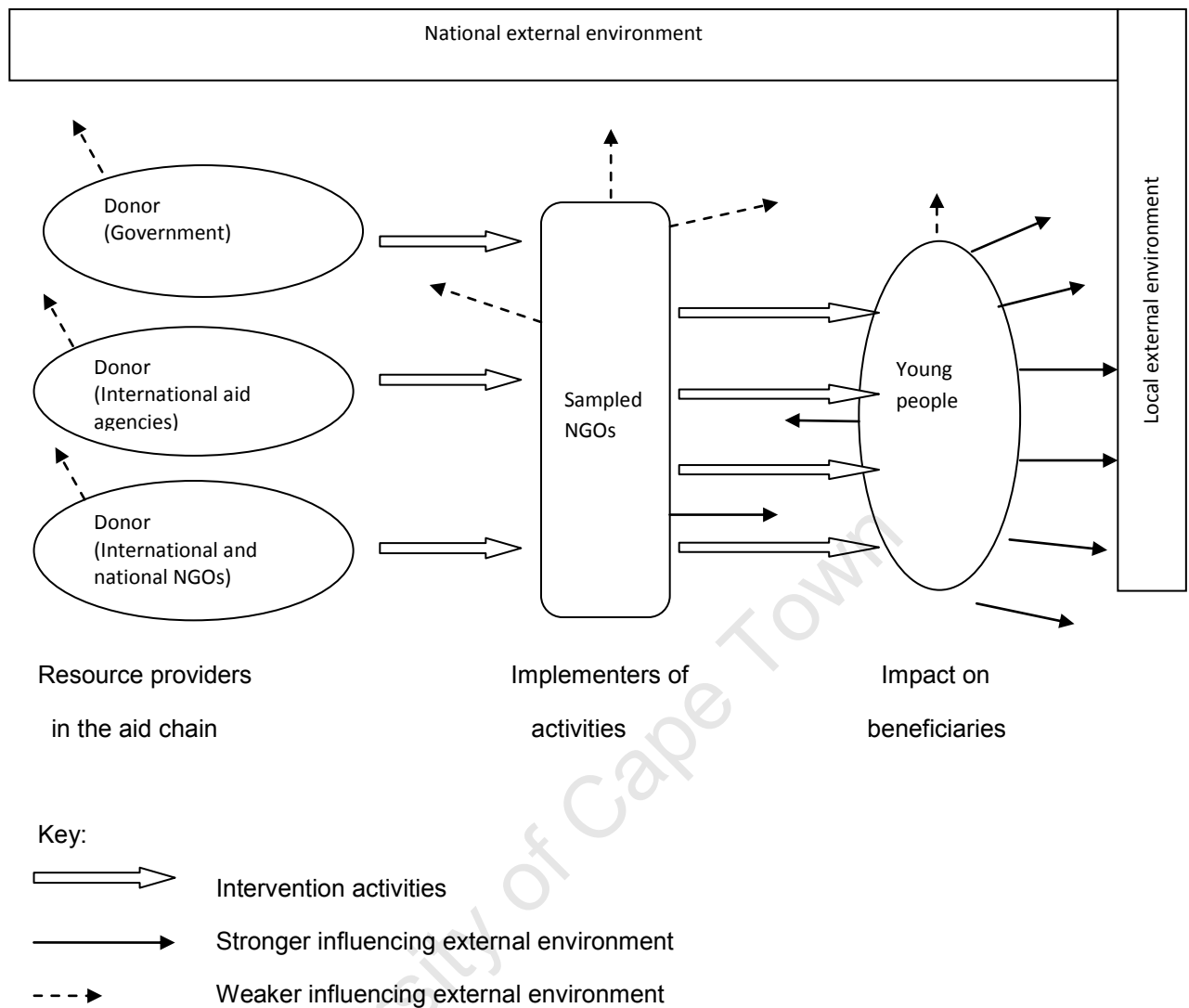


Figure 7.2: Trends from influencing activities

The aid chain illustrates that donors (including government, international and national aid and development agencies) funded the study NGOs to implement programmes, which should impact on the behaviour of young people. NGOs and their donors signed contractual agreements that clearly stipulate the services to be delivered. NGOs concentrated on effective programme delivery to increase young people's knowledge of HIV and AIDS and safe sex practices and enhance their influencing skills. Three NGOs made special effort to engage young people in sports, performing arts and community service. The selected group of trained young people endeavoured to influence their peers in their local communities. NGO contracts with their donors did not explicitly include analysis of the external environment and influencing it to create a conducive environment for HIV prevention. Hence, NGOs

have weak influence on the environment even at local community level. Donors also seemed not to explicitly and actively engage in influencing activities.

The evidence shows that there were several blocks to influencing. First, the way donors conceptualised their funding led a tendency to separate implementation from influencing activities. This is in line with Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) arguments that NGOs must simultaneously play the roles of service delivery and advocacy (policy influencing or formation), but donors tend to separate these roles. Linked with this, and due to resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003), the study NGOs tended to focus on meeting contractual agreements. Hence, the extended influencing potentials of NGOs seemed to be eclipsed by donor priorities, and limited by their fear of losing legitimacy.

Second, effort in HIV prevention interventions centred on enhancing the knowledge of young people on HIV and AIDS, and skilling them to positively influence their peers. This may have led to some behaviour change among teenagers (Shisana, *et al.*, 2009), but has not necessarily created a large scale influential national effect. The argument that development managers must understand that “interventions directed towards external social goals also involves trying to influence the general policy arena of development” (Robinson and Thomas, 2002, p. 5), with community diagnosis and participation in policy development (Barnett, 2007; Campbell, Nair and Maimane, 2007; Nair and Campbell, 2008) seemed not to be in place. Thus the nature of the intervention activities mainly left young people alone to fight the battle with the external environment.

Third, evidence shows that there was a narrow definition of influencing. Apart from influencing young people, the study NGOs largely confined effort to influencing government, with little attempts at influencing the local communities. However, the strategy to influence the government faced blocks, as government is a major provider of resources to NGOs in South Africa. Hence due to the power donors derive from being resource providers, NGOs were cautious not to ‘bite the hand that feeds you.’ This constraint was heightened with some government officials being sceptical about NGO engaging in influencing activities. This creates a critical gap, which, if not

addressed, leaves an adverse environment for HIV prevention among young people. This is especially critical as young people living in low resource, high HIV prevalence communities reported that there were several adverse local influences that inhibited young people's compliance to HIV prevention messages; see chapter 6.

Thus it mainly seemed that (a) donors focus was on funding and monitoring activities they were interested in; (b) NGO efforts were restricted to programme implementation based on agreed deliverables, and influencing was mainly confined to championing by example; and hence (c) influencing efforts to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention was left mainly to young people. The picture that emerged suggests that the crucial role of influencing the landscape in South Africa for HIV prevention, which should be done by various agencies, was minimised. Small wonder that issues and messages that have arisen in South Africa, which conflict with HIV prevention messages, seemed not to have faced very strong and consistent opposition, be it from national, provincial or grassroots levels.

Recommendations

The results of this study support a number of recommendations, which suggest that some shifts in practice in the aid chain can bring about change. First, there is need to raise awareness of the importance of influencing the external environment, and build capacity in public action of development managers. If this is embraced at the donor level, there is likely to be more change in NGOs and community groups. Additionally, management systems need to be improved to enhance organisations' means and opportunity to influence the environment. Although researchers have documented the challenges in other settings that organisations face in establishing management systems that support engagement with policy development and implementation of public action (Mackintosh, 1993, cited in Robinson and Thomas, 2002), strengthening management systems for public action is essential. Second, there is need for organisations engaged in HIV prevention to explicitly include analysis of the external environment and influencing activities in their interventions. Influencing activities should not be confined to influencing young people and government, but also influencing the local communities. Third, as HIV prevention is a major challenge for South Africa, the findings on inadequate resources needs urgent address by

government and donor agencies, and careful consideration as donors are reducing funds allocated to HIV and AIDS given that dominate rhetoric that HIV and AIDS sector is overfunded. Thus there continues to be need for various donors to adequately fund behaviour change interventions, inclusive of influencing activities. Additionally, NGOs need to devise creative ways of extending available resources such as pooling resources and scaling up their own or others' cost-effective practices (Bahamon, Dwyer and Buxbaum, 2006). Where NGOs influencing activities are heavily curtailed by their resource providers, NGOs must consider securing alternative sources of funding, and remaining financially independent of the parties they lobby against to guard against potential compromises (Kareithi, 2004). Finally, there is need for explicit concerted public action to create a more enabling environment for HIV prevention. This should embrace a multifaceted multi-sectoral approach (UNICEF and World Bank, 2004) with effort from development organisations, aid agencies and civil society at large. Organisations need to make links between their work at the micro-level and the broader external environment of which they form a part. Work cannot be left mainly to young people. Therefore there is need for public action from local to national level to intensively champion the HIV prevention message, and openly speak out and challenge utterances, practices, myths, norms and beliefs that contradict HIV prevention messages.

Methodological limitations

This study confined its focus on the influencing practices of four NGOs in Cape Town. Although the four NGOs selected have similar features to other NGOs in the area, the patterns evident in this study may not necessarily be generalisable to other settings. Influencing is done by various development actors including governments, international aid agencies, local community groups, media, and so forth. Greater understanding may have been enhanced from more in-depth exploration of influencing practices by a wider range of development actors. This remains a potential area of future research.

Conclusion

This exploratory multiple-case study of four NGOs in Cape Town, South Africa, presents new data on how NGOs endeavour to influence their external environment.

The findings shed light on the influencing strategies, which include inter-organisational relations, influencing policy and championing by example. It emerged that NGOs generally directed their efforts towards influencing young people, with less effort directed at influencing other players to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. Furthermore, influencing work was centred on extending the reach and potential impact of their work, and sharing and learning.

The study has also developed our understanding of underlying constraints to influencing the external environment. We thus argue that awareness must be raised (among NGOs, community groups, government departments, donors, media and other partners in the public or private sector working towards a social end) on the importance of influencing, strategies of influencing, and ways of incorporating influencing into development interventions. Furthermore, adequate resources for HIV prevention and influencing are required. As funding plays a pivotal role in the activities of development organisations, it is crucial that donors prioritise their activities and that of their development partners to incorporate influencing. Public action for a more conducive environment for HIV prevention can no longer be left mainly in the hands of young people. Development organisations, donors, media and civil society at large ought to intensify their crucial role in explicitly refuting any contradictory messages and practices on HIV prevention that exist and may arise. We hope that putting these recommendations into practice at local and national level will rescue South Africa from 'fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water'.

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University of Cape Town

PART C

Chapter 8. Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Introduction

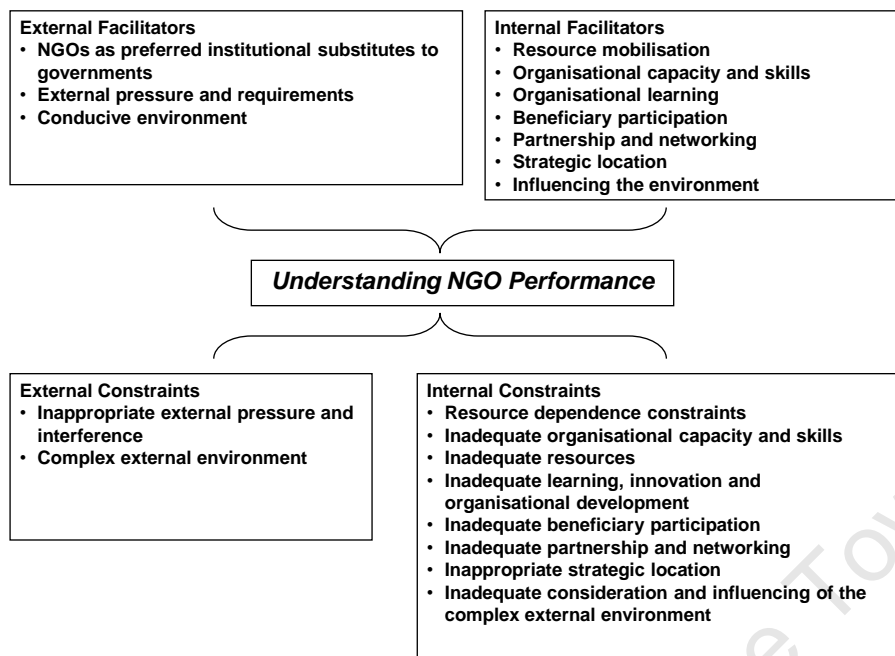
Findings of all studies presented in this thesis are discussed in-depth in each article, along with how the findings compare with the existing research literature; **see Chapters 2-7**. This final chapter aims to summarise pertinent findings on the review of literature on development NGO performance; characteristics of NGO performance research; location of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town; NGOs management practices; young people's perception of their social and economic environment; and, how NGOs influence the external environment. The chapter then presents a framework for the institutionalisation of development management, which encompasses good practice in development management. This is followed by indications of how the research aims and objectives have been addressed; the contributions of this study to existing knowledge in the field of NGO performance and development management; and, the limitations of this research. Finally, recommendations are made for practice, policy, and further research.

8.2 Review of literature on development NGO performance

8.2.1 Factors influencing NGO performance

The systematic literature review identified numerous factors that influence NGO performance. These include internal and external facilitators as well as constraints. These are summarised diagrammatically in **Figure 8.1** below. It is worth noting that although a number of factors influencing NGO performance are external, most factors are internal. This may suggest that these factors are within the control of NGOs, and NGOs should work at managing each factor to enhance their developmental goals.

Figure 8.1: Factors influencing NGO performance



8.2.2 Internal and external factors

Evidence confirms that NGO performance is influenced by both internal and external factors. This has implications for practice and research. In practice, it shows the need for NGOs to assess both internal and external factors that influence their performance. This is in line with the literature that calls for NGOs not only to focus on NGO organisational attributes, but also to closely analyse the environment in which they operate (Johnson and Thomas, 2002; Lewis and Opoku-Mensah, 2006) as excessive organisational introspection can weaken long-term mission and undermine the quality and reliability of NGO performance (Hulme and Goodhand, 2000).

8.2.3 Double-sided factors

There was striking evidence that a number of factors¹ influencing NGO performance are like a double-sided coin i.e. a factor emerged as both a facilitator and a constraint. As **Figure 8.1** shows, this argument applies to the external environment; resource mobilisation; external

¹ Recognition is made of the fact that in some instances there is a thin dividing line between internal and external factors. The researcher takes internal factors as those that NGOs have greater control over, while external factors are largely controlled by forces outside of NGOs.

pressure, requirements and influence; and, operational management. This shows the need for NGOs to identify and understand how each factor influences them. There is further need for NGOs to strategically manage each factor in a bid to enhance their performance. Facilitators should be encouraged and enhanced. Constraints should be minimised and managed to reduce adverse effects, or eradicated where possible.

8.2.4 Shift by NGOs and their donors

The review further suggests that despite the repeated calls for NGOs to consider and influence their external environment, they are still, in many cases, unable to do so. This is consistent with Hulme (2008) sentiments that NGOs fail to examine key players who influence the underlying processes that affect NGOs' work. Although this information has been known for some time, in practice NGOs seem to be slow to take adequate cognisance and subsequently make a significant shift in their practices (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008). The review further provides evidence that NGOs are largely influenced by their donors. These findings have implications for practice, policy and research.

In practice, this research urges NGOs to move towards explicitly and intensively influencing their environment. However, this move by NGOs should be accompanied by complementary development policy reforms directed at donors, governments and policy-makers, as the agenda of donors is a key influencing factor among NGOs. Thus, it is imperative that the capacity of donors be strengthened so as to explicitly embrace the practice of influencing. Donors must form part of the paradigm shift and support NGOs to make concerted effort to consider and influence the external environment. Failure to do so will simply perpetuate the existing situation whereby NGOs are required to reform, but fail to change, unless practices conform to the paradigms and expectations of their funding agencies.

8.2.5 Conclusion

Results of the systematic review of literature on development NGO performance showed that development NGOs face a range of issues. The key issues include questions of resource dependency, accountability, strategic location, beneficiary participation, and organisational learning.

A useful perspective about NGO performance can be derived from the beneficiaries of the development interventions. This argument is not new, but certainly needs to gain ground in development practice and assessments. This is in line with a report by the British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) that there is an emerging consensus among development NGOs that their primary accountability is to their beneficiaries (Gosling, 2008). Results of the review emphasise the call for a change in practice among development organisations to draw their indicators of effectiveness mainly from their beneficiaries. As shown in the literature, there is a tendency in practice to define NGO performance and corresponding indicators of effectiveness as defined particularly by donors and management experts. More often than not, these stakeholders put forward recommendations and capacity building programmes that concentrate on improving the organisations themselves. Regarding assessments, the multiple-constituency model of the theory of organisational effectiveness similarly argues that assessment should be centred on the reported opinions of key stakeholders based on criteria that are important to them (Herman and Renz, 2004). It is thus important for NGO performance to be defined from the perspective of beneficiaries, including constant review of the environment of development interventions. The Development NGO Management Cycle, which incorporates this approach, has been put forward as a contemporary guide in managing development interventions.

8.3 Characteristics of NGO performance research

8.3.1 Scarcity of articles on NGO performance

Out of 14,469 citations on NGOs, only 31 (0.21%) academic peer-reviewed journal articles were found on factors influencing the performance of NGOs from the systematic literature search. This represented 3.06% of the 1,012 academic articles on other subject matters relating to NGOs. The evidence confirms the scarcity of articles on factors influencing NGO performance, and previous sentiments that the organisation and management of NGOs research has received relatively little attention (Lewis, 2003; Lewis, 2005). The underdevelopment of knowledge in this field (Lewis, 2006) supports calls for an increased rigor in academic research to deepen our understanding of NGO performance.

8.3.2 Articles scattered in various publications

Articles on NGO performance are scattered in several journals, including development studies journals, evaluation and accountability, health and political studies journals. This confirms sentiments by Edwards and Fowler (2002) that NGO literature is widely dispersed across books, journal articles and agency publications. This makes the job of locating them hard, long, and tedious as this research confirms.

8.3.3 Concentration of researchers in developed countries

The systematic literature review showed that the majority of the researchers examining NGO performance are affiliated to institutions in developed countries. However, the majority of the studies were carried out in developing countries. It was also found that all studies in developed countries were exclusively done by researchers in those countries. The data provides proxy indicators that reveal the nature of collaborative efforts between the 'North' and 'South' among both academics and development practitioners. This situation is contrary to the rhetoric of 'North-South' and 'South-North' collaboration and participation in international development especially in the field of research on NGO performance. Reasons for this state of affairs may be attributed to:

- Low capacity in developing countries;
- Inadequate resources in developing countries;
- More reputation and capacity in 'Northern' institutions; and,
- Donors commissioning 'Northern' institutions to assess development partners in the 'South'.

This is in line with the argument by Muchungunzi and Milne (1995) that the 'South' always has to account to the 'North' and not vice versa, while donor money and expertise are more valued than 'Southern' labour and expertise. Wallace and Chapman (2003) also argue that while UK NGOs and donors state commitment to downward accountability and promotion of local ownership and control of development, the policies and procedures of funding disbursement and accounting ensures that upward accountability dominates, which is part of a wider problem of donor domination of recipients.

8.3.4 Broad definition of NGO performance

Evidence shows that NGO performance covers a wide range of topics, reflecting a wide definition of the term 'NGO performance'. Of the 31 articles examined, nine categories were distinguished, namely accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation, operational management, monitoring, evaluation, organisational learning, institutional environment, needs assessment and strategic location.

8.3.5 Skewed examination of topics

Topics most commonly examined were accountability, reporting, resource mobilisation, operational management, and monitoring and evaluation. There were few studies on organisational learning, institutional environment, needs assessment and strategic location. Given that these topics are growing in significance, these findings reflect the need to increase research in these less commonly examined yet critical areas. For instance, organisational learning is important as it is linked to improved organisational capacity, performance, effectiveness and sustainability. Organisational learning creates the space for organisations to reflect on their experiences, lessons learnt from their work and work of others, and their internal and external environment. This provides the space to think critically, disseminate new knowledge, techniques and new ways of understanding, be creative and innovative in designing means to face new demands and challenges, re-plan and adapt accordingly. This is essential as the development arena is a rapidly changing and complex context (Johnson and Thomas, 2007). Increased studies in organisational learning will add to knowledge on if and how organisations learn and adapt to the complex context, and on experienced facilitators and constraints. Studies will further identify examples of good practice, which can be scaled-up and replicated by others.

8.3.6 Skewed utilisation of sources of data

Evidence showed that researchers gather data on NGO performance from various sources of data. Eight categories were distinguished. Dominant sources were NGOs and donors. Other sources were beneficiaries, government departments, academic researchers, and technical assistance providers.

This evidence may suggest that the rhetoric of beneficiary participation and engagement seems not to have been effectively implemented in research projects, and may be a proxy reflection of the reality in intervention practices. This is further compounded by the fact that participation of beneficiaries are often sought in implementing activities based on decisions taken in other fora; hence their participation less sought in decision-making. Beneficiary participation in projects and research is particularly important since they are more likely to know what benefits them as the recipients of a given set of interventions (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004). As important stakeholders, beneficiaries should be involved from the design stage to evaluation (Szporluk, 2009). Furthermore, incorporating their voices into studies generates data that would otherwise be overlooked and can make the realities and experiences of beneficiaries count more (Chambers, 2009).

8.3.7 Few published researchers in Africa

Evidence shows that only 3 out of 13 authors who conducted studies in Africa were affiliated to an institution in Africa. These 3 represent less than a tenth of 38 who authored the 31 articles that were examined.

8.3.8 Conclusion

The new data from this study, which reviewed journal articles published between 1996 and 2008, shows that although there is substantial global interest and concern over NGO performance, there is an insignificant number of academic peer-reviewed journal articles that have examined factors that influence NGO performance. Additionally, most published researchers in this field are affiliated to institutions in developed countries. This striking evidence reveals the need to address this imbalance in published researchers in developing countries, particularly Africa, in the field of NGO performance research.

8.4 NGO strategic location

8.4.1 Numerous NGOs with HIV and AIDS interventions for young people

The finding that in 2007, 93 NGOs were providing HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town is striking. This provides evidence that a considerable number of development

NGOs have responded to addressing the HIV and AIDS needs of young people, which is a strategic approach in halting the spread of HIV and AIDS (Global HIV Prevention Working Group, 2007).

8.4.2 Skewed concentration of NGO office location

Findings show that there was a concentration of NGO offices in two geographical areas i.e. Cape Town Central and South Peninsula. These are not areas with the highest HIV prevalence. This shows that although development NGOs have a reputation of being closer to the people, their office locations are not concentrated in areas of highest HIV prevalence where one would expect as these are the areas of highest need. This was consistent with findings of international studies that NGO offices are not located in communities of most need (Campion, 2002; Fruttero and Gauri, 2005; Barr and Fafchamps, 2006). The only exception was a study by Brass (2009) in Kenya, that found that NGO offices were geographically located in communities of most need, hence the need-factors determined NGO office location. This exception raises further questions. What could policy makers and NGO practitioners learn from the Kenyan case on factors that determine NGO location? Could NGO location be determined by government policy? This is left for future research.

8.4.3 Fairly even spread of NGO service sites

Findings showed that service provision was fairly evenly distributed across all health sub-districts of the Cape Metropole. This may be attributed to the policy of the government, which is a major donor to NGOs in Cape Town, to advocate for broad coverage in all areas.

The highest numbers were in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga, which have the highest average HIV prevalence rates over several years. However, the lowest ratios of NGO service sites to the average HIV percentage prevalence rates were in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga. This finding shows that despite the large number of NGO service sites in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu/Nyanga, the intensity is inadequate in relation to the prevalence of HIV in these areas. This may suggest that NGOs do not review, and hence fail to shift, strategic areas of service provision based on shifts in HIV prevalence. Therefore, areas of higher HIV prevalence have not received the intensive concentration of service provision that is expected.

8.4.4 District data conceal communities of most need

The six-year HIV prevalence data showed that despite the Western Cape Province having the lowest HIV prevalence in the country, some health sub-districts such as Khayelitsha have, at times, marginally higher prevalence figures compared with the national figures. This confirms the argument that examining provincial estimates of HIV prevalence alone can potentially mask epicentres (Shaikh, *et al.*, 2006). This is particularly important in development management as it suggests that using such provincial data as the basis for targeting beneficiaries can be misleading.

8.4.5 Conclusion

The results of this study provide new data that is crucial for policy making in the development agenda of HIV and AIDS, particularly those targeting young people. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first of its kind in South Africa, and globally at large. These new results show that the targeting performance of development NGO offices and sites of service provision are not determined by HIV prevalence. This provides evidence that higher HIV prevalence areas have not yet experienced greater intensity of HIV and AIDS services.

8.5 NGO management practices

8.5.1 Common management practices

Through utilising the Development NGO Management Cycle as the conceptual lens, the findings of this study showed that although capacities varied, the multiple-case study NGOs had various management practices in place. The most common management practices were strategic location and implementation. The NGOs located their intervention sites within reach by young people, such as in schools and community centres. Interventions were implemented in innovative and youth-friendly styles, which young people appreciated. Other common management practices were beneficiary participation, planning, resource mobilisation, monitoring, reporting and external evaluations.

8.5.2 Challenging management practices

The most challenging management practices were needs assessment, influencing the external environment, project reviewing, organisational learning, and needs reformulation. The low levels of needs assessment and needs reformulation seemed to relate to the finding that minimal monitoring, reviewing and organisational learning were conducted by NGOs. Low levels of organisational learning were attributed to the concentration on delivering and meeting targets of the donor-led contract work. This seems to have minimised the opportunity for NGOs to intensify their assessment, reformulation and learning practices. This is similar to Fowler (1997) sentiments that NGOs have a dominant culture of action over reflecting, analysis and learning.

8.5.3 Skewed upward external accountability

Skewed upward accountability was observed with less internal and downward accountability to beneficiaries. The skewed upward external accountability was largely attributed to fears of funds revocation or imposition of additional conditionalities, and the desire to remain relevant to the course of donors. This seemed to have the knock-on effect of NGOs not creating adequate space for reviewing and learning from both successes and challenges. This provides empirical evidence that rewarding success while punishing failure, through revocation of funds or additional funding conditions, tends to discourage NGOs from revealing and scrutinising mistakes, and that 'short-term accountability to funders can chill learning and innovation' (Ebrahim, 2005: 82).

8.5.4 Inadequate beneficiary participation

Analysis showed that beneficiary participation was largely limited to the intervention delivery style, particularly with the peer education programme. This finding confirms Brett's argument that effective participation is achieved when 'operationalised through institutional arrangements which maximise the accountability of agencies to users' (Brett, 2003: 1-2).

8.5.5 Enormous task of influencing the external environment

Influencing the external environment was regarded as a crucial and enormous task, yet NGOs did not explicitly receive funding to enhance this practice. The enormity of influencing the environment emphasises the fact that concerted effort is required from numerous agencies, as

no individual organisation has access to all resources required for development (Thomas, 1996; Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000).

8.5.6 Conclusion

Although these results are not new, there are a few notable points for development managers in NGOs, governments, and donor agencies to draw from this multiple-case study. The NGOs tended to centre attention on strategic location and implementation, than on other management practices. They seemed to reach their beneficiaries, mobilise some resources, and establish upward external accountability to donors. These practices could account for their reputation in the field. Nonetheless, general evidence shows that contemporary management theory has still not been fully incorporated into practice. This confirms that even reputable NGOs and their stakeholders seem slow to make a significant shift in their practices (Bebbington, Hickey and Mitlin, 2008).

8.6 Young people's perspective of their socioeconomic environment

8.6.1 Numerous adverse influences

The findings from the study showed that young people living in low resource high HIV prevalence communities faced several adverse influences. Key emergent factors were:

- Negative social norms;
- Inadequate recreational facilities;
- Crime;
- Chronic poverty;
- Inadequate parent/guardian–child relationships; and,
- Inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders.

These debilitating factors in their external environment adversely affect young people's ability to build institutionalised compliance procedures for HIV prevention. Furthermore, the young people's vivid awareness and detailed descriptions of the constraints they face begs urgent and concerted attention.

8.6.2 Multifaceted approach required for a more conducive environment

Young people proposed several ways in which the external environment needs to be improved to create a more conducive environment for primary HIV prevention. Key proposals were:

- Continued education with the opportunity for critical thinking;
- Increased access to recreational activities;
- Increased positively influential social norms;
- Increased positively coherent HIV prevention messages;
- Improved security;
- Continued access to youth-friendly health facilities;
- Improved parent/guardian–child relationships; and,
- Reduced chronic poverty.

8.6.3 Multiple agencies action for a more conducive environment

Young people perceived that an enabling environment includes positive influences from home, peers, schools, NGOs, clinics, hospitals and other health facilities, sporting facilities, churches and other religious organisations, media, and local and national leaders. It begs for integrated development, with additional radical measures, from various agencies. This includes local and national leaders, as the responses and utterances of political leaders play a role in HIV prevention (Mupedziswa, *et al.*, 2009). These perceptions are in line with arguments that public action must come from a wide range of multiple agencies (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000). It further echoes the approach by UNICEF to work with a wide range of partners and invest in children to “ensure future generations break out of the vicious cycle to poverty, violence and disease” (UNICEF, 2009: 2).

8.6.4 Increased emphasis and access to recreational activities

The findings showed that young people living in low resource communities perceive that access to extra-curricular and recreational facilities was crucial to keeping them engaged in activities they enjoyed as well as for exploring and showcasing their talents. Hence, indirectly it is a crucial means to fight the spread of HIV. It further suggested that mere delivery of educational and health interventions in isolation cannot succeed in curbing the spread of HIV among young people.

Effectively hearing the voices of young people is crucial to bridging the gaps between what young people know will work for them and what interventions provide. Failure to do so, scholars caution, will lead to continued mismatches between youth aspirations and HIV and AIDS programmes (Gibbs, *et al.*, 2010). There is thus need to recognise and address the importance of recreational activities in HIV prevention. In this regard, there is a particular need for increased donor tolerance toward programmes that incorporate sports, performing arts and community service as a complementary component of HIV prevention interventions for young people. This will encourage innovative ideas to be put into practise in the public interest of HIV prevention, and may contribute to improved effectiveness of available resources.

8.6.5 Constant scan and assessment of the external environment

The findings also showed that the environment within which young people live is a crucial factor in HIV prevention interventions, and is worth reviewing constantly. It also emerged as a critical area of research study from a social science perspective (Barnett, 2004b). Development organisations need to act speedily and rigorously to strengthen their negotiating power and move beyond the focus of major donors on changing behaviour (Barnett and Parkhurst, 2005) into changing the context. This research further showed that beneficiary participation, even by young people, is indeed possible, practical and essential in understanding and responding to the external environment.

8.6.5 Conclusion

In the context of NGO management literature and NGO performance research, this study uniquely utilised FGDs and pictures drawn by young people to examine influences of the external environment from the perspective of young people who live in low resource high or rapidly increasing HIV prevalence communities. The findings paint a lucid picture of young people's perception of their external environment, and disabling influences of their environment that challenge their ability to institutionalise HIV prevention messages. This reveals the important need for interventions to urgently address the adverse socio-economic environment, as an additional, crucial and complementary means of enhancing primary HIV prevention among young people. Positive elements in the environment such as education and health facilities, sports, drama, performing arts, and other extra-mural facilities need to be

increased, be equipped and functional. Parallel to this, disenabling factors such as adverse social norms, crime and poverty need increased and urgent attention.

8.7 Influencing the external environment

8.7.1 Influencing in practice

The findings provided evidence that although the four multiple-case study NGOs were not explicitly familiar with the development management strategy of influencing the external environment, in practice they employed a combination of influencing strategies, in varied degrees, to achieve their development ends. Overall, the most preferred strategies were cooperation, coordination and championing by example. The least preferred were open challenge/confrontation and competition.

8.7.2 Constraints to influencing

Principal constraints NGOs faced in influencing the external environment emerged as:

- Fear of losing legitimacy;
- Inadequate knowledge, skills and opportunity;
- Perceived deviation from work;
- Inadequate funding;
- Conflicts related to values and messages; and,
- Focusing on individual behaviour and less on context.

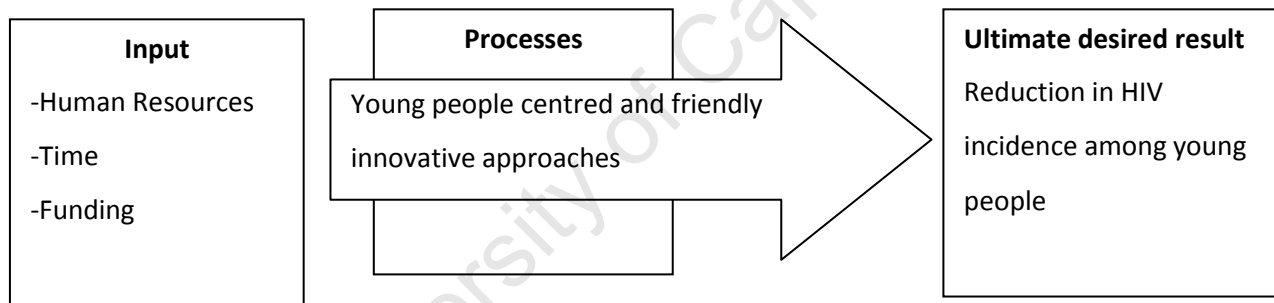
8.7.3 Unintentional engagement in influencing

Evidence showed that some NGOs avoided practices that would be considered political or perceived as subversive to government, which is a principal financial provider. Nonetheless, some NGOs seemed to have unintentionally engaged in influencing activities. For instance, although some NGOs opted to maintain their independence and not engage in influencing, they seemed to have successfully engaged in unavoidable confrontation of ideas and practices. Policies of government and decision makers seemed to be shifting as they appeared to recognise the importance of recreational activities and being more tolerant towards programmes that incorporated sports, performing arts and community service.

8.7.4 Trends in influencing practices

Analysis of trends revealed a critical situation in influencing practices, as summarised diagrammatically in **Figure 2** of chapter 7. Evidence showed that donors (including government, international and national aid and development agencies) funded NGOs to implement programmes with contractual agreements clearly stipulating requirements, and NGOs concentrated on effective programme delivery to increase young people's knowledge of HIV and AIDS and safe sex practices and enhance their influencing skills. Groups of trained young people endeavoured to influence their peers in their local communities. This results chain is summarised in **Figure 8.2** below. Donors generally did not explicitly include in their funding analysis of the external environment and influencing it to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention.

Figure 8.2: Results chain - desired HIV prevention among young people



8.7.5 Potential in influencing minimised

Given the above trends, the potential of NGOs in influencing the environment was minimised. This was attributed to a number of factors. First, NGOs were afraid of losing legitimacy and were preoccupied with implementing donor supported programmes. This was further intensified by the NGO tendency to prioritise 'doing over influencing'. Second, the way donors conceptualised their funding led to the separation of implementation from influencing activities. This is in line with Lister and Nyamugasira's (2003) arguments that donors tend to separate service delivery from advocacy (policy influencing or formation). Indeed recent literature on NGO management argues that official aid should concentrate on promoting an enabling environment for civil society to flourish (Fowler and Malunga, 2010). Hence, other than championing by example, some NGOs did not have adequate resources for influencing

activities. Third, in HIV prevention interventions efforts centred on enhancing the knowledge of young people on HIV and AIDS, and giving them skills to positively influence their peers. Development managers seemed to pay little attention to influencing the general policy arena of development.

8.7.6 Narrow definition of influencing

The study also provided evidence that there was a narrow definition of influencing. Apart from influencing young people, NGOs largely confined effort to influencing government, with little attempts at influencing the local communities. This creates a critical gap, which, if not addressed, leaves an adverse local environment for HIV prevention among young people.

8.7.7 Conclusion

Overall, evidence showed that (a) donors focused on funding and monitoring activities they were interested in; (b) NGO effort was restricted to programme implementation based on agreed deliverables, and influencing was mainly confined to championing by example; and hence (c) influencing efforts to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention was left mainly to young people.

Consequently, NGOs generally directed their efforts towards influencing young people, with less effort directed at influencing other players to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people. Despite the inputs and intensity of ongoing work, the ultimate desired result of reducing HIV incidence among young people may not be achieved, or only be achieved at a much slower pace than expected.

Therefore, public action for a more conducive environment for HIV prevention, and the crucial role of influencing the landscape, can no longer be left mainly in the hands of young people. There is need to rescue South Africa from 'fighting a forest fire with teaspoons of water' by influencing at various levels: the individual, local environment and the policy level.

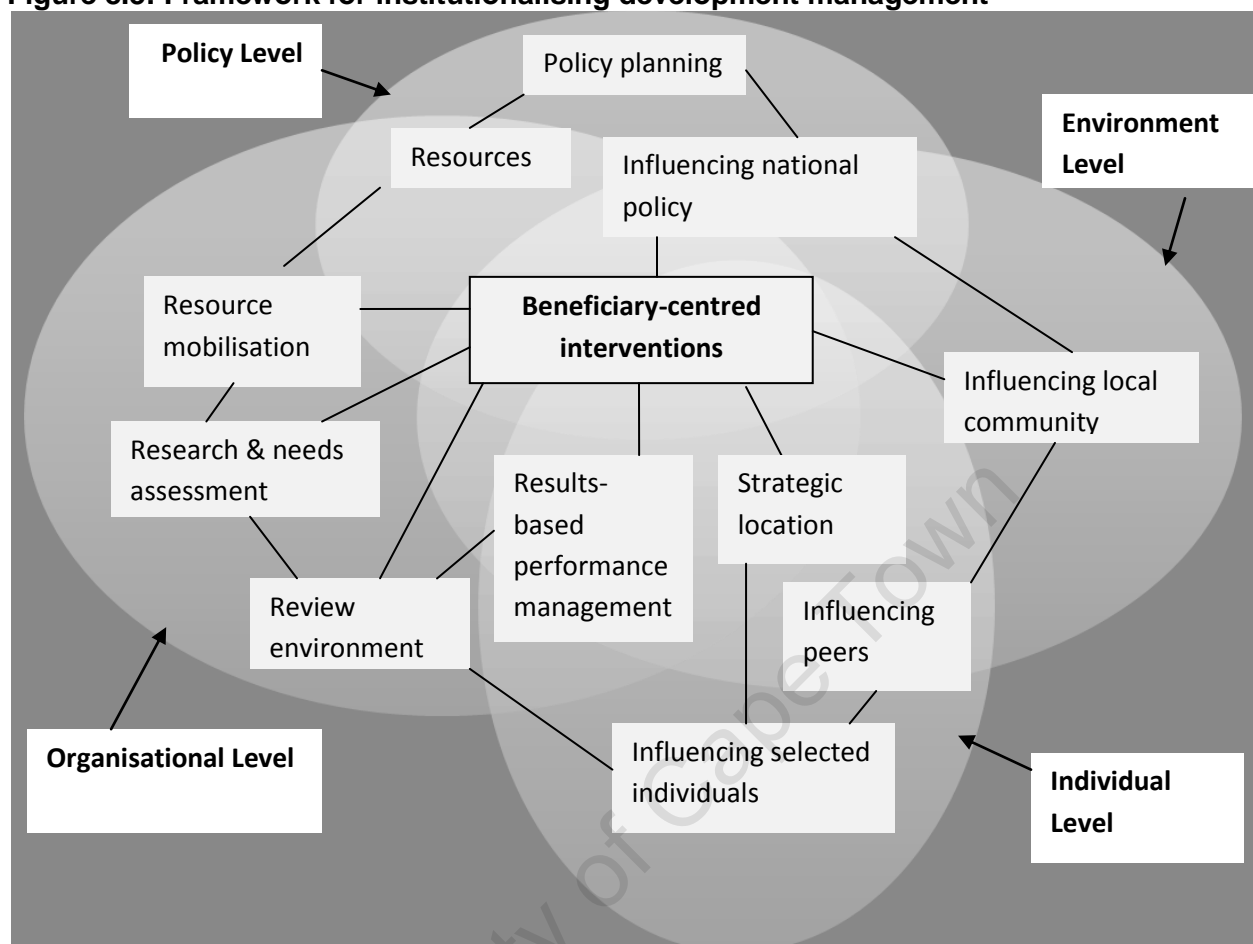
8.8 Framework for institutionalisation of development management

The aim of this thesis was to develop a framework of good practice in development management to guide development NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people into improving their performance in achieving both internal organisational and external social goals. To this end, this research makes another unique contribution by formulating and presenting a Framework for Institutionalising Development Management (FIDM) as shown in **Figure 8.3**. Based on critical findings that emerged from this research, key players not only involve NGOs but also donors, policy makers, young people and communities at both local and national level.

The FIDM is not only based on good practices in development management, but also reflects the connectivity of the practices and forms a guide on how to institutionalise fundamental development management practices. The framework is an adaptation of earlier work by Levy (1996) who developed a web of institutionalisation of gender. The framework for the institutionalisation of development management differs from the web of institutionalisation of gender in two ways: first the focus is different as the web focuses on gender mainstreaming while the framework focuses on development management; and, second, actors are different both in their nature and their flow of inter relationships.

The FIDM has practices at four main levels i.e. organisational, individual, environment and policy levels. The practices form a web as they are linked, interrelated, and under optimal conditions should work simultaneously. Practices in the FIDM can begin at any level. Nonetheless, crucial findings from the voices of young people (see chapter 6), urgently call for interventions to start from the perspective of beneficiaries. This is in line with the call by several development scholars and practitioners to embrace beneficiaries from the onset of development interventions and assessments (Kelly, Kilby and Kasynathan, 2004; Chambers, 2009). Moreover the Development NGO Management Cycle, a product of this research, also calls for interventions to commence with beneficiary needs assessment.

Figure 8.3: Framework for institutionalising development management



At the **organisational level**, the framework suggests that organisations should first conduct research or beneficiary needs assessments, or utilise results of a relevant assessment conducted by another organisation. The assessments should not only examine the behaviour of targeted beneficiaries, but also review the external environment within which beneficiaries live. This should be expanded to include the way beneficiaries perceive how their environment influences their behaviour. Based on findings from the needs assessment, organisations should design and deliver beneficiary centred interventions, upholding beneficiary participation in various activities as much as possible. Organisations should also strategically locate the sites of service provision to ensure easy access by targeted beneficiaries, particularly in communities of most need. To do this, resources must be mobilised including financial, personnel and material resources. At the onset, results-based performance management systems should be designed, and monitoring, reviewing and evaluation regularly undertaken to ensure planned activities are implemented, targeted results achieved, and lessons learnt documented. These should not only

inform internal decision making, but also contribute to reporting to donors and other stakeholders. It should further facilitate organisational learning and beneficiary needs reformulation.

At the **individual level**, evidence-based strategies that are known to be effective should be replicated and scaled-up. For instance organisations should continue working with and influencing selected groups of young people. In turn these young people should endeavour to positively influence their peers. Collectively, the larger groups of young people should influence their families, friends and others in their local community. As this is ongoing, development organisations should not only examine changes in young people's behaviour, but also examine any changes to the external environment, particularly from the perspective of young people, that inhibit young people's compliance to and institutionalisation of HIV prevention messages.

Influencing of the external environment should not be left to young people only. At the **environment level**, development NGOs should utilise findings from the review of the external context in influencing the local communities and national policy makers into creating a more conducive environment for HIV prevention. Other crucial players that should fight for a more enabling local and national environment must include families and community members, as well as local and national leaders, religious organisations, media, donors, private firms, policy makers, and local, provincial and national governments.

At the **policy level**, policy makers should ensure that there are current, relevant and beneficiary-centred policies for HIV prevention among young people. Policy makers, working closely with government and donor agencies, must ensure there are adequate resources allocated and availed to implement all activities that are part of the comprehensive approach to HIV prevention. Additionally, policy makers should ensure that policies should include the creation of more conducive environment for HIV prevention, particularly addressing the perspective of young people. Aspects to be addressed should for instance include broader socio-economic strategies such as reducing chronic poverty, negative social norms and inappropriate practices and remarks by leaders, crime, and alcohol and drug abuse. There should also be increased recreational facilities, education, creation of employment opportunities, and improved parent/guardian-child relationship.

Overall, the framework proposes that the main condition for the institutionalisation of development management in HIV prevention interventions for young people is the focus on beneficiary-centred interventions. This is consistent with the utilisation of indigenous knowledge and systems. To do so, organisations and players at various levels need to unlearn inhibiting existing practices in order to effectively adopt new ones. The new practices must focus on beneficiary centredness rather than organisational survival and donor-drivenness.

Different players can utilise the FIDM to reflect on their practices, and identify various practices that require change. For instance, development NGOs that have simply commenced service provision to a hitherto unreached community of need, must first undertake a needs assessment of their beneficiaries, obtaining data on beneficiaries' behaviour and their external environment. Changes must be made to their interventions based on the findings. Donor agencies and policy makers can also use the framework to aid their understanding of why influencing the external environment is crucial for HIV prevention. Resources should then be allocated to reviewing and influencing the external environment as part of the comprehensive approach to HIV prevention.

8.9 How the aim and objectives of the research have been addressed

The central research question of this thesis has been addressed through the formulation, presentation and discussion of the framework for institutionalising development management presented above. The framework calls for continued endeavours to improve achievement of set goals, along with constant scanning, reviewing and influencing of the external environment to create a more conducive environment for HIV prevention among young people.

The results of the research are presented through six journal articles, which addressed the aim and six objectives of this thesis. The first objective to conduct a systematic literature review on the performance of development NGOs, and identify influencing factors was addressed and presented in the first article; as indicated in **Chapter 2**.

In **Chapter 3**, analysis of the characteristics of development NGO performance research was presented. This was an additional product of this research from the wealth of data extracted and generated from the review. The second objective, namely to develop a typology of organisations

that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town, South Africa, and populate it with data on the type of organisation and nature of the services provided, were presented in **Appendix 2**. Analysis and findings on the location of NGO offices and service sites in relation to area-level HIV prevalence rates were discussed in **Chapter 4**. **Chapters 5 to 7** present findings that addressed the third and fourth objectives, namely to identify existing development management practices in a multiple-case study of development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention services to young people, and to identify factors that encouraged and factors that hindered the emergence of development management practices. Several recommendations that can inform policy on the provision of primary HIV prevention services to young people are mainly presented in **Chapter 6**, which focuses on the voices of young people. Finally, overall findings of this thesis are utilised to critically formulate a framework of good practice in development management, as presented in **section 8.8**. This forms a contemporary guide to institutionalising development management.

8.10 Contributions of this research

The findings of this research provide several contributions to the knowledge of NGO management, some of which may also offer useful insights to other development organisations.

8.10.1 Contribution to systematic review in the social science

The systematic review of the literature makes a unique contribution to reviews in the social sciences as relatively few studies, compared to the biological field, utilise the systematic review methodology.

8.10.2 Factors influencing NGO performance

The systematic literature review drew evidence from online journal articles between 1996 and 2008. In doing so, it synthesised information on a range of factors influencing NGO performance, making a novel contribution to knowledge in the field of NGO management and research. It specifically highlights facilitators and constraints, and thus contributes to enhancing understanding of factors influencing NGO performance.

8.10.3 Evidence on the status of researching NGO performance

Analysis of the characteristics of NGO performance research has also made a number of contributions as it has explored and provided evidence on the status of researching the performance of development NGOs. Notably, first it has demonstrated that understanding NGO performance is a multi-faceted arena in which many issues are explored by academics, NGO practitioners, donors, governments and policy makers. Second, it has provided data needed to strengthen this field, as it clearly shows that in the field of NGO performance assessment there are few published researchers in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Third, it has collated and provided information on the various academic journals that publish articles on factors influencing NGO performance. This forms an important reference point for future researchers, with evidence that publications on NGO performance seem to be emerging in various new journals. Among other lessons, this has shown that scholars must not limit their future searches to traditional NGO and development journals.

8.10.4 Identifying methodological gaps in research and reporting

The review provides evidence of a few methodological issues that future researchers on NGO performance should pay attention to. First, evidence shows a skewed preference towards gathering data from NGO senior- and middle-level management. This practice omits the important contribution made from hearing the voices of field staff, beneficiaries and their communities. Second, the review showed that the methods of data collection were not explicitly stated in some studies. For instance, whilst the period of data collection is required in research, less than half of the studies examined explicitly met this requirement. This showed that future research in understanding NGO performance need to explicitly report on the methodology applied, which in turn would benefit future comparison analysis.

8.10.5 Development NGO management cycle

The project cycle management (PCM) is utilised as a standard tool in international development for conceptualising and managing projects (Cracknell, 2000). Commonly, it consists of preliminary needs assessment, planning, resource mobilisation, implementation, monitoring, reviewing, reporting, evaluation, needs reformulation, and the cycle continues (Johnson and Wilson, 1999; Methven, Robinson and Thomas, 2001). Learning from pertinent findings from the systematic review of literature, the PCM was modified to make it a contemporary guide in

managing interventions. Additional practices incorporated were strategic location, beneficiary participation, influencing the external environment, and organisational learning. This resulted in formulation of the Development NGO Management Cycle, as set out in **Figure 3** of chapter 4, which is a contemporary guide for the planning and performance management of development interventions. The Development NGO Management Cycle can further be utilised in research. For instance, as detailed in chapter 5, it was utilised as the conceptual framework in exploring the management practices of the multiple-case study NGOs.

8.10.6 New data

Development of the typology of NGOs that provide HIV and AIDS services to young people in Cape Town also generated new data. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first academic mapping of NGOs in this area of work. Moreover, the results from NGO location analysis further provide new data that are relevant to policy makers. The new results show that the targeting performance of development NGO offices and sites of service provision are not determined by HIV prevalence, and that higher HIV prevalence areas have not yet experienced greater intensity of HIV and AIDS services. Additionally, the data will be a useful reference for researchers, development organisations and donors interested in the mapping of NGOs in Cape Town providing HIV and AIDS services to young people. The methodology and analysis utilised in this study will also provide useful guidelines for future researchers undertaking geographical information system mapping of development NGOs, in South Africa or globally.

In the field of NGO performance research, no other academic research was found that examined the location analysis by author affiliation by study location. The small number of published researchers based in developing countries, particularly Africa, points to the need for policy makers to look into ways of strategically supporting, nurturing and hence increasing scholars and researchers based in developing countries. This crucial information will similarly inform future funding decisions.

8.10.7 Illustration of utilising multiple sources of data

As the literature review of NGO performance revealed a skewed preference towards gathering data mainly from NGO senior- and middle-level management, the field study of this research makes a contribution to changing practice. Data were successfully gathered from multiple

sources, both internal and external to the organisation and detailed information was provided on how it was done. It further demonstrates that a wealth of data in NGO management and performance research can be generated by encouraging reflection and incorporating the voices of beneficiaries; young people in this case. Indeed more has been done with young people as research subjects than to work with them on research projects, so the practice in this research is yet another demonstration of changing practice in a bid to effectively embrace the perspective of beneficiaries. This research has therefore presented a unique methodology for gathering empirical evidence on NGO management, and forms a reference point for future research.

8.10.8 HIV prevention and development management

This research has generated information on the provision of HIV prevention interventions to young people, which is useful for practitioners, beneficiaries, donors, policy makers, academics and researchers. Specifically, it makes a contribution to examining the gap between the theory of development management and the practices of sampled NGOs with primary HIV prevention interventions targeted to reduce HIV incidence among young people. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first published research in South Africa, and Africa at large, to undertake such a study with a focus on NGOs. This research has thus contributed to knowledge not only in the field of HIV prevention but also in NGO management, which forms part of development management.

This research also forms an important contribution to future work in developing HIV prevention strategies and policies. A large body of literature exists based on individual behaviour; there is less literature on the social aspects of HIV and AIDS. This research focused beyond individual behaviour; it examined the external environment and identified ways of influencing that external environment in a bid to make it more conducive for HIV prevention among young people. This has generated new knowledge, and can make a contribution to inform policy and systems of support to young people.

As this kind of research has not been done before, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the resultant framework of good practice in development management is a unique contribution to knowledge. As the framework has been formulated based on empirical research, its application in practice should go a long way in assisting development managers in institutionalising key management practices. In future it will be interesting for researchers to

explore and analyse the contributions of the framework where it is applied in practice. Regarding policy, this research has put forward a number of recommendations that, if implemented, will contribute to improving the provision of HIV prevention services to young people. Overall, this research has filled an existing void in literature in the context of the comprehensive approach emphasized by development management.

8.10.9 Hearing the voices of young people

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, the study on the perceptions of young people is the first academic research in South Africa in the field of development management. The FGDs with young people, which incorporated drawings, provides a unique contribution by illustrating how to gather data from young people in an age-appropriate way. This is important as incorporating the voices of beneficiaries, more so young people, in research projects is regarded as a difficult concept to practice. Incorporating the voices of young people has provided deeper insights into their perceptions and experiences, and has hence intensified understanding of influences of the socioeconomic environment in the context of HIV prevention among young people. This approach can be replicated in similar development management research and in collecting monitoring data for ongoing development interventions.

8.10.10 Enhancing understanding of NGO management practices

The multiple-case study on management practices not only explored existing management practices, but also underlying facilitators and constraints. It has thus contributed to enhancing understanding of factors that influence the performance of NGOs that provide HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town.

8.10.11 Framework of good practice in development management

This research was an important process to formulate guidelines of strengthening organisational performance in development management. The framework for the institutionalisation of development management (FIDM) can be used to guide development NGOs providing HIV prevention services to young people towards embracing good practice in development management. Where implemented, it will contribute to improving the performance of NGOs and to achieving desired development goals. The FIDM can also be utilised by development managers in government, aid agencies, public and private organisations as a guiding framework

to assess their practices and to institutionalise development management practices. It is worth noting that the FIDM can further be utilised by organisations undertaking other types of development work; not just HIV prevention among young people. These organisations can adopt the framework to suit their context, mainly by amending the focus to their development goal, and by adjusting the actors and flow of the inter relationships.

8.11 Methodological limitations

The limitations of this research have been discussed in the specific articles (see Chapters 2-7) presented in this thesis. Nonetheless, key limitations that should be taken into consideration are summarised. The first two sub-sections refer to limitations of the systematic review of literature and developing the typology of NGOs respectively. Thereafter the discussion focuses on limitations of the multiple-case study.

8.11.1 Systematic literature review selection criteria

The search criteria were restricted to online journal articles, in English, published between 1996 and 2008, which focused specifically on factors influencing the performance of development NGOs. The criteria thus excluded journal articles in other languages, in non-electronic journals, other published materials, grey literature, and articles published earlier or later. Additionally, articles on NGO programme evaluations, NGO leadership and on NGOs in humanitarian and aid relief were omitted. The excluded publications may have contained relevant data.

Another potential area of difficulty was the inclusion of all types of NGOs, as the NGO sector is heterogeneous operating from grassroots to international level. Using data from a wide variety of NGOs eliminated the ability to control for variations in organisational settings. It also prevented generalisation of findings across all or any specific group of NGOs.

8.11.2 Typology of NGOs

Due to funding and time constraints, the researcher mainly relied on key electronic online databases to identify NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people and extracted relevant data. Gaps in the available data were sought through searching the NGOs' websites and/or through email and telephone communication. The location assessment was then made

based on maps received from the Provincial Department of Health. Thus, this study was not privileged to have relied on a geographical information system survey.

8.11.3 Selection criteria of the multiple-case study NGOs

The selection criteria focused on purposively sampling four development NGOs with a good reputation for their work regarding the provision of HIV prevention services to young people in Cape Town. Hence, no data were available to enable comparison between 'weak' or 'strong' performing NGOs. Additionally, as data on NGO management performance were hard to come by, NGOs were sampled based on the reputation for their HIV prevention services to young people, rather than on their management performance.

8.11.4 Biased positive reporting

As the researcher was seeking information on NGO management practices and their performance, it is probable that informants were biased towards positive reporting. However, the researcher attempted to minimise the influence of this by triangulating particularly through seeking data from directors and programme field staff who directly provide services to young people. Additionally data were sought from external sources including young people, partner organisations and donors.

8.11.5 Generalisation of the perspective of young people

The external environment explored in this study was of young people living in low resource, high HIV prevalence communities in Cape Town, South Africa. Hence generalising the findings to other areas of South Africa must be done with caution. However, it is likely that these findings are relevant to other similar communities in South Africa.

8.11.6 Generalisation of the influencing practices

The study on influencing the external environment confined its focus on the influencing practices of four NGOs in Cape Town. Although the four NGOs selected have similar features to other NGOs in the area, the patterns evident in this study may not necessarily be generalised over other settings.

Additionally, the external environment is influenced by various actors including governments, international aid agencies, local community groups, local and national leaders, media, and so forth. Greater understanding may have been enhanced from more in-depth exploration of influencing practices by a wider range of development actors. However, this was beyond the scope of this study, and remains a potential area for future research.

8.12 Recommendations

A number of recommendations have been made in various chapters of this thesis. Key recommendations are highlighted below.

8.12.1 Recommendations for practice

Findings from the literature review show that in order for NGOs to remain as cutting-edge development organisations, there is need for them to continue developing more effective organisational processes, systems and practices. These include building capacity to diversify and manage multiple sources of funding; improve internal-logic of interventions clearly linking daily activities with long-term development goals; improve management and governance; improve performance measurements that capture and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data; encourage and create space for organisational learning and innovation; embrace and improve on results-based management which must start with beneficiary needs identification; adjust the skewed upward external accountability and strengthen internal and downward accountability mechanisms; and influence donors and policy makers to embrace and support practices that ensure long-term effectiveness and sustainable development. Moreover, NGOs must also continue strengthening links with beneficiaries and ensure beneficiary participation from the onset of an intervention through to the end; ensure strategic location; and, build synergistic partnerships, networks and alliances.

Results from the literature review and field work undertaken in this research show that there is the need for NGOs, development practitioners, governments, donor agencies, academics and researchers to rethink the definition of NGO performance. One useful perspective for thinking about NGO performance is from the point of view of the primary beneficiaries of the development interventions that NGOs deliver. This similarly applies to the performance of other development organisations. Key issues to be considered should include effective beneficiary

participation, strategic location of interventions, and constant influencing of the external environment to create a more conducive environment for the successful implementation of development interventions and achievement of the desired results and impact.

From the multiple-case study additional recommendations can be made regarding NGO management practices. First, findings showed that there was marked concentration on delivering and meeting targets of donor-led contract work. It is recommended that NGOs frequently reflect on their vision and mission and ensure their daily activities address their desired goals. NGOs should also focus on result-based management, which will guide them not only to focus on delivering services and achieving outputs, but will also guide them into concentrating on stating and working towards achieving desired outcomes. In this way, development organisations will be able to identify and address challenges that exist in their external environment that may curb the achievement of targeted development goals.

Second, findings showed that there was also marked concentration on delivering services over reviewing and learning. Additionally, there was a tendency to centre learning from educational institutions and experts. It is recommended that NGO staff create more space, time and opportunities to reflect and learn from each other.

Third, there is need to continue building NGO capacities to understand and exercise the different management practices. NGOs, and their stakeholders, must continue work to maintain the standards of existing good practices whilst making efforts to improve on weak areas. Technical support should be drawn from numerous agencies, based on the specific needs of an organisation. Service providers should not only be limited to training and educational institutions, but also be sourced from development organisations with reputable capacity building programmes. Capacity building should also focus on assisting organisations to map how the improvement of management capacities will enhance achievement of desired results and developmental goals (Adano, 2011).

With regards to the provision of HIV prevention services to young people, several recommendations are made particularly to NGOs, government, and donor agencies. First, whilst there is indeed need for young people to continue being educated to increase their knowledge on HIV and AIDS and need for continued access to youth-friendly health facilities, it is

imperative that they are provided with the opportunities and skills for critical thinking, and challenged to regularly do so. This will contribute to increasing the ability of young people to make critical independent and non-coerced judgments about their personal lives, and to withstand and resist any kind of negative influences from peers, relatives, leaders and the media.

Second, young people in low resource, high HIV prevalence communities need access to extra-curricular and leisure activities. This should form a complementary component of HIV prevention interventions. As mere delivery of educational and health interventions cannot succeed in isolation, HIV prevention intervention should encourage, provide or advocate for young people be able to access extra-curricular and recreational activities where they can explore and showcase their talents. Hence, a simple though striking and highly essential requirement is the need for increased access to functional recreational facilities. This is a modest though highly pertinent recommendation, which policy makers, government and donors should action on. The continued motivation of young people to embrace safe behavioural practices and instil institutionalised compliance behaviour, must go hand-in-hand with enlarging their experiences, perspectives, dreams, aspirations and future opportunities.

Third, there is need for positively influential social norms and a critical mass of positive and coherent HIV prevention messages both locally and nationally. Evidence suggested that whilst young people are bombarded with HIV prevention messages, many factors around them go against this communication. These factors are not only limited to individual behaviour, their families and peers, but also include practices of community members, media role models, and leaders at local and national levels. Hence, it is recommended that positively influential social norms and critical masses of positively coherent HIV prevention messages must not only stem from young people, parents/guardians, family and friends, but also from leadership at the local community and national level.

Fourth, it is recommended that intensive scanning of the environment with a 'wide-eyed lens' and influencing of the external environment must be included in HIV prevention interventions, run by NGOs and funded by government and/or other donor agencies. Analysis of the landscape revealed that desired developmental results are hard to achieve within an un-conducive environment, hence there is need to incorporate a new process into the way of doing

things. Evidence showed that it is not enough to simply provide HIV prevention services to young people, and to encourage young people to work at individual institutionalised compliance behaviour. A more conducive external environment is required for HIV prevention, especially in resource constrained high HIV prevalence communities. Influencing activities should not be confined to influencing young people and government, but also influencing the local communities. There is urgent need to constantly assess the external environment, including seeking the perspectives of beneficiaries. The wealth of data gathered in this research reveals that beneficiary participation, even by young people, is indeed a possible, practical and essential means of understanding the external environment. HIV prevention interventions should break away from the dominant donor focus on changing individual behaviour, and incorporate changing of the contextual factors. There is need to ensure that behaviour change approaches, underpinning many campaigns, address the complex contextual factors through a developmental approach (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002).

Fifth, and linked to the above, multiple actors must play a role in influencing the external environment. Influencing can no longer be left in the hands of young people, schools and NGOs. It is crucial that parents/guardians, and any other concerned adults, seek guidance in overcoming the common perception that HIV and AIDS should not be discussed with young people. Adults need to obtain skills to increase communication with young people, in an age-appropriate manner, regarding reproductive health. Furthermore, adults must adopt a more effective communication style, such as motivational communication which is a guiding rather than directing style (Mash, Mash and de Villiers, 2010).

Advocacy and work for the creation of a more conducive external environment cannot stop here. There is need for explicit concerted public action to be taken up by numerous agencies. Development organisations, donors, media and civil society at large ought to intensify their crucial role in explicitly refuting any contradictory messages and practices on HIV prevention that exist and may arise. This should embrace a multifaceted multi-sectoral approach (UNICEF and World Bank, 2004) with effort from the wider community, local, provincial and national governments, development agencies, religious organisations, media and private firms. Therefore there is need for public action from local to national level to intensively champion the HIV prevention message, and openly speak out and challenge utterances, practices, myths, norms and beliefs that contradict HIV prevention messages.

To achieve this, there is need to raise awareness of the importance of influencing the external environment, and build capacity in public action of development managers. If this is embraced at the donor level, there is likely to be more change in NGOs and community groups. Additionally, management systems of development organisations need to be improved to enhance organisations' means and opportunity to influence the environment.

Seventh, as HIV prevention is a major challenge for South Africa, the findings on inadequate resources needs urgent address by government and donor agencies. Thus it is recommended that donors adequately fund HIV prevention interventions, which must include scanning of and influencing the external environment. As funding plays a pivotal role in the activities of development organisations, it is crucial that donors prioritise their activities and that of their development partners to incorporate influencing. Additionally, NGOs need to devise creative ways of extending available resources such as pooling resources and scaling up their own or others' cost-effective practices (Bahamon, Dwyer and Buxbaum, 2006). Where NGOs influencing activities are heavily curtailed by their resource providers, NGOs must consider securing alternative sources of funding, in order to remain financially independent of the parties they lobby against and insulate themselves from potential compromises (Kareithi, 2004).

8.12.2 Recommendations for research

The systematic literature review showed that between 1996 and 2008 there was a modest but steady growth in the number of journal articles investigating factors influencing the performance of development NGOs. The researcher joins other scholars and calls for increased research on NGO performance. Future studies should explicitly examine and report on facilitating and constraining factors, in order to increase learning from practice, to further deepen our understanding of the environment of development organisations and their interventions, to facilitate more robust conclusions to be made, and to inform or challenge policy decisions.

Additionally, there is need for studies that review both internal and external factors that influence NGO performance. Further studies that explore the external environment within which NGOs operate need to be undertaken from the perspective of the beneficiaries of NGO development interventions. The wealth of data generated from the FGDs with young people confirms the importance of including the voices of beneficiaries not only in intervention design and

implementation, but also in research. Their opinion should also be sought in assessments and evaluations. It further confirms that young people have the ability to review and critique issues. Development practitioners, evaluators and researchers are, however, cautioned to utilise youth-friendly methodologies.

The review revealed that whilst detail of the period of data collection is a usual requirement in research, less than half (13 out of 31) of the studies in this review explicitly met this requirement. Some studies did not discuss the methods used at all. Future research in the area of understanding NGO performance would benefit from more rigorously described methodologies. Additionally, as NGOs are a heterogeneous group, future field studies and systematic reviews of the literature should make explicit attempts to cluster NGOs to a closer homogenous group for instance CBOs, FBOs, national NGOs, regional NGOs and international NGOs. Attention to these points will enhance further meta-analysis and comparison studies.

There is also need for more research that explores the relatively new topics in NGO management. First, attention must be paid particularly to influencing the external environment, including key players in underlying processes (Hulme, 2008). Second, NGO strategic location studies need attention. This will provide evidence for policy effectiveness, and strategically located interventions will improve beneficiaries' access to essential resources (Fowler, 1998). Going beyond the location analysis, future research could also analyse the quality of services provided by NGOs. It would further be interesting to compare the quality of services provided by NGOs located within the communities their beneficiaries live and those located further away.

The review of literature found plausible evidence that there are very few published researchers based in Africa in the field of NGO management. Additionally, little academic research on NGO performance is undertaken in partnership with researchers in Africa. There is need to advocate for engagement with the African Renaissance paradigm (Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia, 2010), and the need for research funders and policy-makers in academic, donor, government and development institutions to intensively identify, encourage, support and nurture social scientists in Africa, in the field of development and performance management.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, the study on the number and typology of NGOs providing HIV and AIDS services to young people within the Metropolitan area of Cape Town

(also known as the Cape Metropole District of the Western Cape Province) is the first of its kind. The study takes note that the data of 2005 onwards only represented a two-year period. It would be interesting to obtain the actual additional number of NGOs during the period 2005 to 2010, to establish whether there would be any changes in the trend. It would further be interesting for researchers to undertake a study of NGO location in other health districts, not only in the Western Cape Province but also in other provinces of South Africa, and make comparison analysis across various variables including by provinces, by rural/urban, by population concentration or by province per capital income. This is left to future research. In understanding the external environment of development interventions, there is need for future studies that identify the number and analyse the strategic location of interventions. This should be done not only at provincial but also at national level.

This is of particular importance with regard to HIV prevention, taking a critical look at area-level analysis. Concentration analysis shows that NGO offices are concentrated in two areas, rather than in areas in Cape Town with the highest HIV prevalence. There is need for future research to explore the motives of NGOs for their location choices.

As there are limited academic studies on NGO management practices in South Africa, there is need for additional studies in this field, which should also explore both facilitating and constraining factors. This will provide an important reference base with data on NGO management practices and underlying factors. The data will also be useful to policy makers, governments and aid agencies as it will influence their policy making. Such studies should not only be conducted in NGOs in Cape Town or the Western Cape, but South Africa at large.

As noted earlier, various actors influence the external environment. However, this study focused on exploring the influencing practices of four NGOs. A recommended area of future research is the exploration of influencing practices by governments, international aid agencies, NGOs, local community groups, local and national leaders, media, churches and so forth as identified in a given community or geographical area. Analysis should explore the intensity of both positive and negative influences.

8.12.3 Recommendations for policy

The location analysis showed that targeting performance of NGO offices and sites of service provision are not determined by HIV prevalence. Thus development practitioners, donors, planners and policy makers need to utilise HIV prevalence rates as a strategic intent for service delivery. Data must be drawn not only from provincial and health district level, but also from sub-district level and smaller geographical areas so as to identify epicentres of the pandemic. This will contribute to targeting, realigning and intensifying interventions in communities of most need.

The multiple-case study shows that donors and governments explicitly need to provide more financial support to NGOs, so that they can enhance their efforts at influencing the external environment. This should be incorporated into their existing and future HIV prevention interventions. Indeed given the size of the epidemic, there is urgent need for donors to consider increasing resources to HIV prevention. Further, government needs critique its power in the aid chain, carried under the banner of NGO performance-based contracting, particularly in minimising the ability of NGOs to advocate for change. Failure to do so, at local, provincial and national levels, will simply perpetuate the delivery of HIV prevention services in an adverse environment, hence choke efforts in South Africa to make and show significant gains in HIV prevention and in achieving the sixth MDG. There is further urgent need to recognise that influencing the external environment is a fundamental component, not just for HIV prevention interventions, but also for development aid effectiveness.

It is further recommended that policy makers broaden the definition of an enabling environment. There is need to place emphasis on poverty reduction as evidence strikingly confirmed the link between increased HIV incidence with disabling factors in the external environment including poverty, boredom, unemployment, under-employment, violence, crime, and drug and alcohol abuse. Chronic poverty needs to be reduced particularly through increased employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, increased food security and improved basic living conditions especially in low resource communities.

8.13 Concluding remarks

NGOs have developed organisational practices of how they work, relate with various stakeholders, and achieve their desired internal organisational and external social goals. This thesis raises various issues that challenge a number of daily operations and management practices of NGOs. As practices of organisations are entrenched for these are established over a long time, organisational change processes will indeed take time to shift towards adopting recommendations made in this thesis. The same applies to other stakeholders who work with or influence NGOs, particularly government and donors.

However, despite potential resistance and difficulties to change, the recommendations in this thesis are supported by the evidence that has emerged from this research project. All stakeholders should progress towards adopting them as recommended good practice, and gradually aim to institutionalise them. To remain as cutting-edge contributors to development, development organisations could utilise the emerging body of literature on organisational learning, which will contribute to enhancing the ability of organisations to cope with new emerging practices.

Finally, the results of this research could be relevant for NGOs working in other development sectors, and not just those dealing with HIV and AIDS. It is hoped that these results will also be of assistance to donor agencies, governments and policy makers, who intentionally or unintentionally remain significant shapers of the practices of NGOs.

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Appendix

Annex A: NGO typology data collection form

1. What is the name of your organisation?
.....
2. Do you only offer services to young people? (Tick only one)
 - ☐ Yes
 - ☐ No
3. When did you start offering HIV/AIDS services to young people?
Year.....
4. What age group of young people do you provide services to? (Tick those that are relevant)
 - ☐ 10-14
 - ☐ 15-19
 - ☐ 20-24
5. Where is your head office based?
.....
6. In which areas of Cape Town do you provide services to young people?
.....
7. What race group of young people do you offer services to? (Tick those that are relevant)
 - ☐ Black
 - ☐ White
 - ☐ Coloured
8. What gender do you offer services to? (Tick those that are relevant)
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female

9. What type of HIV/AIDS services do you provide to young people?

- Peer education
- Life Skills
- Condom distribution
- Public information campaign
- Television educational programme
- Radio educational programme
- VCT
- Other types of counselling (please specify)

.....

- Mental health
- ARV treatment
- Home based care
- Hospice care
- Anti-drug and alcohol abuse
- Art and drama
- Others (please state)

.....

10. What category does your organisation fall into?

- National Non-Governmental Organisation (NNGO)
- Faith Based Organisation (FBO)
- Community Based Organisation (CBO)
- International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO)
- Other (please state)

Annex B: Introductory electronic mail to NGO directors

Dear,

Further to our telephone conversation, I wish to thank you once again for your expressed interest and agreeing to participate in this research. Your participation is highly important as it will contribute to inform the process of improving the management and performance of development interventions.

As indicated, I am undertaking a PhD research project under the Adolescent Health Research Unit, University of Cape Town. This project aims to develop a model of good practice in development management. Development management calls for organisations to achieve internal organisational goals by managing and coordinating organisational resources, and then going beyond that into achieving social goals which are external to any organisation.

The empirical research is a multi-case study design, focused on development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention interventions to young people (aged 10-24 years) in Cape Town. Utilising purposive sampling, your organisation is 1 among 4 highly recommended by a Panel of Experts that met Tuesday 28th August 2007. Regarding the timeframe, I plan to collect data between and

The methodology of data collection involves interviews and focus group discussions with:

- 1) You as the director.
- 2) Programme officers who directly offer HIV prevention services to young people.
- 3) Young people (between 6-10 males and females) receiving HIV prevention services from your organisation.
- 4) An official from a partner organisation that you recommend.
- 5) An official from a donor organisation whom you recommend.

Regarding ethical and legal considerations, information generated from the interviews and focus group discussions shall remain the property of my supervisor, Prof Alan J. Flisher, and I. Information will remain confidential. The contribution of your organisation will be recognised in the acknowledgement and list of participating organisations, but comments and quotes in the report will not mention names of officials or your organisation. Regarding the focus group discussion with young people, I will send the consent forms to your organisation in due course. Only young people with duly signed parental/guardian consent forms will participate in the FGD.

Dissemination of the initial findings will occur at a seminar in 2008. I will send you an invitation closer to the date. During the seminar, we will discuss emerging findings and recommendations. You shall be sent a final copy of the executive summary upon completion of the research.

That is it for now! Do let me know if you have any comments or questions. Kindly also let me know of your availability, so that we can arrange an appointment for a face-to-face interview at a place and a time that is convenient to you. I look forward to meeting you and getting to know your organisation.

With kind regards

Roselyn Kareithi

Doctoral Researcher and Biko Fellow

Adolescent Health Research Unit, UCT

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Annex C: Letter and parental/guardian consent form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Adolescent Health Research Unit

C/o Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital
Klipfontein Road, Rondebosch 7700, South Africa
Tel. (021) 685 4103; Fax (021) 685 4107

alan.flisher@uct.ac.za

Director: Professor Alan J. Flisher

Date:

Dear Parents/Guardians,

I am a PhD student with the Adolescent Health Research Unit of the University of Cape Town. My research focuses on development NGOs that provide primary HIV prevention services to young people (aged 10 to 24 years) in Cape Town, South Africa.

In order to add value to the data I collect, I will gather information from young people who benefit from the interventions. This is an opportunity to hear the voices of young people, regarding their experiences, opinions and recommendations on services provided to them. As they are the beneficiaries of these services, their views are highly essential. Your child is invited to participate!

Information will be gathered through a Focus Group Discussion (FGD), to be

held on (date)

at (time)

where (venue/place)

The FGD will be held between a few young people, me and any research assistant who accompanies me. Confidentiality will be upheld. The name of your child will not be mentioned in any of my reports, and no personalised information will be given to any party.

Please discuss this with your son/daughter. Participation is completely voluntary. If your child is willing to participate and you approve, kindly fill in the slip below and hand it over to your child. Only young people willing to participate, and who have a duly signed 'Parental/Guardian Consent Forms' will join in the FGDs. If you and/or your child do not wish to participate, please do not send your child to the discussions on the above-mentioned date.

This will be a discussion forum only! NO services will be provided.

I hope that this research will contribute in the improvement of services to our young people. Many thanks for your assistance. Kindly contact the undersigned if you have any questions.

Finally, if you want any information regarding your child's or teenager's rights as a research participant, or have any complaints about this research study, you may contact Dr Marc Blockman, the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Cape Town (phone 021 406 6496).

Yours sincerely

Roselyn Kareithi

Doctoral Researcher and Biko Fellow

Adolescent Health Research Unit (AHRU)

Parental/Guardian Consent Form

Please tick the appropriate block, sign this form and return it through your child on the mentioned date of the discussions, informing us whether you are willing to allow your son or daughter to participate in this research. Your child will not be allowed to participate unless you have given written permission.

I _____

(full name of parent/guardian)

give my child _____

(full name of young person)

permission to participate in the Focus Group Discussion.

Your signature _____

Date _____

Your relationship to the child: _____

(e.g. mother, father, aunt, etc)

Your telephone number: _____

Annex D: Check list

Supplies:

- ☐ Name Badge
- ☐ Flip Charts
- ☐ Varied coloured Markers and Pens
- ☐ Digital Camera
- ☐ Digital Recorder
- ☐ Check Batteries and Memory Space
- ☐ Refreshments

At start of interview or FGD:

- ☐ My Background
- ☐ Explain Research
- ☐ Appreciation of Acceptance to Participate
- ☐ Confidentiality
- ☐ Method of Recording Data: Notes and / Taped Interviews
- ☐ Turn on Digital Recorder and Check Taping Signal

End of interview or FGD:

- ☐ Thank Participant(s) and schedule next Interview or Focus Group Discussion
- ☐ Parental Consent Forms for young people: can only participate if dully filled and signed

Follow-up - After:

- ☐ Upload Digital recording to laptop
- ☐ Backup recording to two 2 CD Roms and save copy in two spots
- ☐ Re-listen to interview to determine follow-up and clarification questions
- ☐ Send thank you note

Data backup check list

N G O	Interview/ FGD Code	Date	Youth Consent Forms sent	Youth Consent Forms received	Interview/ FGD Notes and reflection	Interview/ FGD upload recording	Interview/ FGD back up to CDs	Transcribed by	Transcription received and checked
N G O 1	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								
N G O 2	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								
N G O 3	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								
N G O 4	Inter-Dir								
	FGD-PS								
	FGD-YP								
	Inter-PO								
	Inter-Do								

Annex E: Interview and FGD question guides

I. Individual in-depth interviews: NGO directors

Organisation:

Interviewee:

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

Internal Goals

1. Please could you tell me:

- a. What this organisation does?
- b. What you do in your job?
- c. What are your interventions regarding HIV prevention for young people?

2. There are various interrelated strategies used to achieve **internal organisational goals**.

From your experience, can you tell us about the management strategies this organisation practices?

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation have a / or Has your organisation undertaken a?
- (b) What process was taken to develop it?
- (c) Who was involved?
- (d) How are the goals/recommendations of the included in your daily functioning?
- (e) How do you review how well your organisation achieves the targets of the?

Refer to the Development NGO Management Cycle and discuss each of the practices.

3. You have identified that the management practices of that exist are **(mention them)**.

Why do you think these practices exist in your organisation?

Purpose: to identify the facilitating factors.

4. Which strategies does your organisation find difficult to practice? Why?

Purpose: to identify the constraining factors.

5. In your work regarding HIV prevention among young people, how do you include the participation of young people?

Purpose: to identify any inclusion of young people in the design, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reporting, and needs reformulation.

6. How do you think your organisation creates space for learning?

(Wait for answer then ask these...)

- a. Do you make comparisons between 'planned' and 'actual' activities, and then analyse them for decision making and learning?
- b. How does the organisation react to learning that challenges the strategic plan or challenges its assumptions?

External Social Goals

7. From your experiences, can you tell us about the strategies this organisation practices to influence the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people?

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems of influencing the external environment and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation undertake
- (b) What was the process taken?
- (c) Who was involved?

Refer to the strategies to influence the external environment and discuss each of the practices.

8. You have indicated that the strategies practiced are **(mention them)**. What do you think are the facilitating factors and what are the constraints?

9. How do you think the work of this organisation is influenced by the external environment?
(Wait for answer then ask ...)

How do you think this organisation has influenced the external environment in a bid to enhance HIV prevention among young people?

10. From your experience, how do you collect information about the needs of young people to assist them with HIV prevention?

11. How do you collect feedback from young people about how well you are meeting their needs?

12. What do you feel an enabling environment will look like that will ensure you are able to achieve HIV prevention among young people?

13. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in the work of the organisation?

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

II. FGD: Programme staff

Organisation:

Interviewees:

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

To start with, I will ask you for information through a fun activity! Later I will ask more questions.

Activity

Draw a picture that depicts your organisation (as a living thing) in its provision of HIV prevention services to young people.

(Pause)

- Why have you chosen this organic symbol?
- What does each symbol feature reflect?
- Where do you place yourselves? Why?

1. Please could you tell me what your interventions are regarding HIV prevention among young people?

2. I am now going to ask you about management strategies you practice in your programme work.

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation have a / or Has your organisation undertaken a?
 - (b) What process was taken to develop it?
 - (c) Who was involved?
 - (d) How are the goals/recommendations of included in your daily functioning?
 - (e) How do you review how well your organisation achieves the targets of the ?
- Refer to the Development NGO Management Cycle and discuss each of the practices.*

3. You have identified that the management practices that exist are **(mention them)**.
Why do you think these practices exist in your organisation?
Purpose: to identify the facilitating factors.

4. Which strategies does your organisation find difficult to practice? Why?
Purpose: to identify the constraining factors.

5. From your experience, how do you collect information about the needs of young people to assist them with HIV prevention?
Purpose: to identify various sources of information.

(Wait for answer then ask these...)

- a. How do you collect information directly from young people on their needs to assist them with HIV prevention?

Purpose: to identify if information is sought from young people.

- b. How do you collect information directly from young people on how well you are meeting their needs to deal with HIV prevention? Give some examples of how you did this. What was the result?

6. How do you include young people in the intervention design, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, reporting and needs reformation? Share experiences of how you incorporate their feedback and resulting outcome.
7. How do you think you create space for learning in your work?

(Wait for answer then ask these...)

- a. How do you make comparisons between 'planned' and 'actual' activities? Do you analyse them for decision making and learning? Give some examples.
- b. How does the organisation react to learning that challenges the strategic plan or challenges its assumptions? Given an example.

External Goals

8. From your experiences, can you tell us about the strategies you practice to influence the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people?

Purpose: to find out if the organisation has functioning systems of influencing the external environment and the status.

- (a) Does your organisation undertake?
- (b) What was the process taken?
- (c) Who was involved?

Refer to the strategies to influence the external environment and discuss each of the practices.

9. You have identified that influencing practices that exist are **(mention them)**. What do you think are the facilitating factors and what are the constraints?

10. How do you think the work of this organisation is influenced by the external environment?

(Wait for answer then ask ...)

How do you think this organisation has influenced the external environment in a bid to enhance HIV prevention among young people? Share experiences that have led you to your response.

Purpose: to identify if the organisation reviews its environment and how they are working at developing an enabling environment for HIV prevention.

11. What do you feel an enabling environment will look like that will enable achievement of HIV prevention among young people?

12. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in the work of the organisation?

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

III. FGD: Young people

Organisation:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

To start with, I will ask you for information through a fun activity! Later I will ask questions and put your pictures up to remind you of what you have drawn.

Activity

Draw a map/picture of your community showing your schools, homes, clinics, hospitals, clinics, shops, recreation areas, etc. Also show places where young people spend their time that makes them get HIV.

(Pause; for every feature ask why)

Draw a map/picture showing what you dream your community should look like so that young people do not get HIV.

(Pause; for every feature ask why)

Internal Goals

1. This organisation is providing you services (**mention them**) to help you with HIV prevention.

(a) What is working well?

(Wait for answer then ask...)

(b) How do you think these services help young people with HIV prevention?

(c) If this organisation was not able to provide these services would you seek (look for) them elsewhere? Why?

2. How do you think this organisation can improve their services to you?

(Wait for answer then ask...)

(a) Have you ever shared your ideas with them? Give an example of how this occurred and any changes that were made.

External Goals

3. Look at the pictures you have drawn.

(a) What are the good things that go on in young people's lives in your community that helps them with HIV prevention?

(Wait for answer then ask...)

(b) What are the not so good things that do not help with HIV prevention?

Purpose (a and b): To identify some important influences that young people experience in their daily lives?

(c) Do you think this organisation is aware about and understands these experiences so as to assist young people with HIV prevention? Why?

4. Close you eyes and picture a dream world. What do you feel a good environment looks like that will help young people with not getting HIV?

5. What do you feel young people must do so that they make sure they do not get HIV?

Purpose: to identify institutionalized compliance procedures.

6. What thoughts and ideas has this discussion made you have?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence on the young people?

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

University of Cape Town

IV. Individual in-depth interviews: Partner organisation

Organisation:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date:

1. The case-study organisation (... **mention name**) is providing HIV prevention services to young people. Tell me about your partnership.
2. How do you share good practices with the sample organisation?
3. From your experience, how have you contributed to influencing the practices of the organisation?
4. How do you think this organisation is effective in influencing the lives of young people? Why?
5. From your experience, in what ways does the work of this organisation influence the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people? Give some examples.
6. What do you feel an enabling environment looks like that will ensure achievement of HIV prevention among young people?
7. How do you assist in creating an enabling environment?

8. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?

Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in their work and partnership

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

University of Cape Town

V. Individual in-depth interviews: Donors

Organisation:

Interviewee(s):

Interviewer: Roselyn Kareithi, AHRU, UCT

Date: Kilometers

1. Please could you tell me about your partnership with this organisation?
2. How do you assist this organisation achieve their internal organisational goals?
3. How do you assist this organisation achieve their external social goals of HIV prevention among young people?
4. From your experience, how do you think your organisation (... **mention name**) has contributed to influencing the practices of this organisation?
5. How do you think your organisation (... **mention name**) has encourage this organisation to learn and create space for learning?
Purpose: to identify if learning occurs from work experiences and the environment
6. How does your organisation (... **mention name**) encourage this organisation to include young people in the intervention design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation?
7. How do you think the work of this organisation is effective in influencing the lives of young people? Why?

8. From your experience, how has this organisation influenced the external environment so as to enhance HIV prevention among young people? Give some examples.
9. What do you feel an enabling environment looks like that will ensure achievement of HIV prevention among young people?
10. How do you feel your organisation (... **mention name**) can assist this organisation in influencing the external environment so that it is conducive for effective HIV prevention among young people?
11. What thoughts and ideas has this interview evoked in you?
Purpose: to identify if any questions asked will be of influence in their work and partnership

Thank you very much for your time and valuable contribution!

Good Practice in Development Management

Dissertation Research

I

(Full Name - printed) agree to transcribe the digital recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them.

Signature

Date

Transcription Instructions

Document set-up and process:

- Open Word document
- Save the file immediately with the name on the digital recording
- Create a HEADER in the document (View, Headers / Footers) with the full file name (i.e. name of organisation, data sub-set and method of data collection)
- Create a FOOTER in the document with the page # at the bottom (View, Headers / Footers, click on the “footer” option and then click on # symbol)
- Set the whole document at Double Space

In these interviews – I am the Interviewer, so start every statement I say with: I:

The “other person/people” is/are the Participant(s), so start everything they say with: P:

It is like looking at a script when you’re done. You have to capture everything as if you are there in the room. That means:

- When there is any pause (4-5 seconds or more (roughly) type : ...
- When there is laughter, type: (laughter)
- If there is an interruption in the room, type: (interruption)
- If you can’t tell what is being said after re-listening to it, type: (????)
- If there are any comments in Xhosa or Afrikaans, type it out and indicate the language: (e.g. Xhosa) and then type out the translation in to English as well.
- If there are any comments in Xhosa or Afrikaans that you do not understand, type: (Xhosa/Afrikaans !?)

The text-books estimate that 1 hour of interviewing can take up to 3-5 hours to transcribe and should result in approximately a 25 page document when done. When finished, call me to arrange a meeting or e-mail the document to me with the document title in the “subject” line. Keep a copy on your hard drive until I confirm safe receipt.

Thanks!

Roselyn Kareithi, 021 685 4103 (office); 021 713 2118; 083 462 2428; rkareithi@telkomsa.net

Annex G: List of participating organisations

1. ACTS South Africa
2. City of Cape Town
3. Community Development Resource Association (CDRA)
4. Cornerstone Christian College
5. Fikelela
6. Grassroot Soccer
7. Hoops and Soccer for Hope
8. Hope *worldwide* South Africa; now Olive Leaf Foundation
9. Ikamva Labantu
10. Medical Research Council
11. Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA)
12. South African Monitoring and Evaluation Association (SAMEA)
13. Southern Hemisphere Consulting and Development Services
14. Spades Youth Development Agency
15. Steenberg High School
16. Stellenbosch University
17. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
18. University of Cape Town
 - a. Adolescent Health Research Unit (AHRU)
 - b. Centre for Higher Education Development
 - c. Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
 - d. HIV and AIDS Co-ordination (HAICU)
19. Western Cape Provincial Department of Education
20. Western Cape Provincial Department of Health
21. Youth Guilders